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DEPARTMENT OF PUNJAB HISTORICAL STUDIES
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NOTE

The spellings, capital letters used by the authors have been retained as they were.

—Editors

The Travels of Fa-Hsien (399-414 A.D.)

Or

Record of The Buddhistic Kingdoms

RE-TRANSLATED BY H. A. GILES*

Across the river the pilgrims were in a country called Bhida (in the Panjab), where the Faith is very flourishing under both the Greater and Lesser Vehicles. When the people of the country saw Buddhist priests from China coming among them, they were much affected and said, "How is it possible for foreigners to know that renunciation of family is the essence of our religion, and to travel afar in search of the Faith?" Then they gave to the pilgrims whatsoever they required, and treated them in accordance with the Faith.

From this point travelling south-east for somewhat less than eighty yojanas, the pilgrims passed by many monasteries, containing in all nearly ten thousand priests. Having passed by all these, they arrived at a country called Muttra or Mandor and went along the river Jumna, on the right and left banks of which there are twenty monasteries with some three thousand priests. The Faith is here becoming very popular; and all the kings of the countries in northern India to the west of the desert are firm believers. When they make offerings to the priests, they take off their caps of State, and together with their families and officials of the court, wait personally upon the priests at table. At the end of the meal they spread carpets on the ground, and sit down facing the president, not venturing to sit on couches in the presence of priests. The arrangements at these ceremonies of the Faith have been handed down by tradition from the time when Buddha was in the world even unto the present day.

To the south of this, the country is called the Middle Kingdom (of the Brahmans). It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the King's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The king in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity

*Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge.

of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the king's body-guard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but chandalas are segregated. Chandala is their name for foul men (lepers). These live away from other people; and when they approach a city or market, they beat a piece of wood, in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are and avoid coming into contact with them.

In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places. As a medium of exchange they use cowries. Only the chandalas go hunting and deal in flesh.

From the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the kings, elders, and gentry of the countries round about, built shrines for making offerings to the priests, and gave them land, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day. Rooms, with beds and mattresses, food, and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling priests, without fail; and this is the same in all places. The priests occupy themselves with benevolent ministrations, and with chanting lurgies; or they sit in meditation. When travelling priests arrive, the old resident priests go out to welcome them and carry for them their clothes and alms-bowls, giving them water for washing and oil for anointing their feet, as well as the liquid food allowed out of hours. By and by, when the travellers have rested, the priests ask them how long they have been priests and what is their standing; and then each traveller is provided with a room and bedroom requisites, in accordance with the rules of the Faith.

In places where priests reside, pagodas are built in honour of Sariputra, Mugalan, and Ananda (Buddhas to come), and also in honour of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sutras (divisions of the Buddhist Canon). A month after the annual retreat, the more pious families organize a subscription to make offerings to the priests, and prepare for them the liquid food allowed out of hours. The priests arrange a great assembly and expound the Faith. When this is over, offerings are made at the pagoda of Sariputra of all kinds of incense and flowers, and lamps are kept burning all night, with a band of musicians playing. Sariputra was originally a Brahman. On one occasion when he visited Buddha,

THE TRAVELS OF FA-HSIEN

he begged to enter the priesthood, as also did the great Mogalan and the great Kasyapa.

Nuns mostly make offerings at the pagoda of Ananda, because it was he who begged the World-Honoured One to allow women to become nuns. Novices of both sexes chiefly make their offerings to Rahula (son of Buddha). Teachers of the Abhidharma make their offerings in (honour-thereof, and teachers of the Vinaya in) honour of the Vinaya; there being one such function every year, and each denomination having its own particular day. The followers of the Greater Vehicle make offerings in honour of Abstract wisdom, of Manjusri (the God of Wisdom), of Kuan Yin (at that date *Avalokiteswara*), and others. When the priests have received their annual tithes, the elders gentry, Brahmans and others, bring each one, various articles of clothings and thing of which Shamans stand in need, and distribute them among the priests, who also make presents to one another. Ever since the Nirvana of Buddha these regulations of dignified ceremonial for the guidance of the holy brotherhood have been handed down without interruption.

From the ford over the Indus to southern India, down to the southern sea, a distance of forty to fifty thousand *li* the country is all level; there are no big mountain streams, but only small rivers.

The Account of Hiuen Tsiang*

SAMUEL BEAL

1. Kingdom of Tseh-Kia (Takka)

This Kingdom¹ is about 10,000 *li* in circuit. On the east it borders on the river Pi-po-che (Vipasa);² on the west it borders on the Sim-tu river. The capital of the country is about 20 *li* in circuit. The soil is suitable for rice and produces much late-sown corn. It also produces gold, silver, the stone called *teou*,³ copper and iron. The climate is very warm, and the land is subject to hurricanes. The people are quick and violent, their language coarse and uncultivated. For clothing they wear a very shining white fabric which they call *kiau-che-ye* (*Kauseya*,

* *Chinese Accounts of India* (tr.) from the Chinese text of Hieun Tsiang by Samuel Beal, Vol. I, Susil Gupta (India), Ltd., Calcutta-12, pp. 201-11.

1. Takkadesa, the country of the Bahikas, is named in the *Rajatarangini* (v. 150, and said to be a part of the kingdom of Gurjara, which Raja Alakhana was obliged to cede to Kashmir between the years 883 A.D. and 901 A.D. (Cunningham, *Geog.*, 149). The Takkas were a powerful tribe living near the Chenab and were at one time the undisputed lords of the Punjab. The kingdom of Tsih-kia is probably, therefore, that of the Takkas. *Asiat. Res.*, vol xv. pp. 108f.; Lassen, I.A., vol i, p. 973. Julien restores it to Tcheka. It seems that Hiuen Tsiang kept to the south-west from Rajapuri, and crossed the Chenab after two days' march near the small town of Jammu or Jambu (perhaps the Jayapura of Hwui-lih), and then pressed on the next day to the town of Sakala, where he arrived the day after. The distance would thus be about 700 li, or 140 miles (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.*, map vi., compared with Elphinstone's map (India); on this last map the trade route is so marked). In the translation of Hwui-lih, M. Julien has made the distance from Rajapuri to Tcheka to be 200 li (p. 96); it should be 700 li, as in the original. He has also translated *hoy jih* by to-morrow (lendemain), instead of *the day after the morrow*.
2. The Vipasa or Vipat, the Biyas river, the most eastern of the five rivers of the Punjab, the Hyphasis (*Uphasis*) of Arrian (*Anab* ib. vi. c. 8, *Ind.*, cc. 2, 3, 4; Diodorus, lib. xvii. c. 93). Pliny (lib. vii. c. 17, 21) and Curtius (lib. ix. c. 1) call it Hypasis, and Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. i. 26, 27) has Bibasis while Strabo has *Upanis*. It rises in the Himalaya, and, after a course of about 220 miles, joins the Satlaj south-east of Amritsar.
3. The *teou-shih*, of which such frequent mention is made by Hiuen Tsiang, is said to be a compound of equal parts of copper and calamine (silicate of zinc). See Julien in loc., n. 2. Medhurst (*Dict. s. v.*) calls it "native copper."

THE ACCOUNT OF HIEUN TSIANG

silk), and also morning-red cloth (*chau hia*),⁴ and other kinds. Few of them believe in Buddha; many sacrifice to the heavenly spirits (*Devas and spirits*). There are about ten *sangharamas* and some hundreds of temples. There were formerly in this country many houses of charity (*goodness or happiness—Punyasalas*) for keeping the poor and the unfortunate. They provided for them medicine and food, clothing and necessaries; so that travellers were never badly off.

To the south-west of the capital about 14 or 15 *li* we come to the old town of Sakala⁵ (*She-kie-lo*). Although its walls are throw down

4. The *chau-hia* robe. This may mean either court-red or morning-red: it may refer to its colour, but more probably to its ligh ness. We should have expected a phonetic combination in this name, as in the preceding, viz., *Kauseya*, but *chau-hia* has no phonetic value, although it might be compared with the Sanskrit *Suksh (ma)*.
5. Sakala. Panini (iv 2, 75) has Sankala, the *Saggala* of Arrian (*Anab. Alex.*, lib v. c. 22), and probably the same place as Ptolemy (*lib. vii. c. i. CP*) designates by *Sagala e kai Euthudemia*. Sakala occurs in the *Mahabharata* (ii. 1196, vii. 2033) as the capital of the Madras, Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 559f.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i, pp. 22f.; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 196f.; *As. Res.*, vol. xv. pp. 107f.; J.A.S. Ben., vol. vi. pp. 57f.; Lassen, *Zeitsch. f. d. K. d. Morg.*, vol. i. p. 353, vol. ii. pp. 154f., 212; *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 801. Sakala has been identified by General Cunningham with Sanglawala-Tiba, to the west of the Ravi (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 180). The capital of the country is not named by Hiuen Tsiang. It appears from Hwui-lih that the pilgrim went straight to Sakala, and did not visit the capital. He places it 14 or 15 *li* to the north-east of Sakala. Although the route taken is differently described in "the Life" and in the *Si-yu-ki*, yet in the main it is sufficiently clear. After leaving Rajapuri the pilgrim travels south-west for two days, and, crossing the Chenab, he lodged for one night in a temple belonging to the heretics just outside Jayapura. The second day after leaving this town (direction not given) he arrived at Sakala. Proceeding a little way to the east-ward of a town called Narasimha (the situation of which is not given, but was probaly a short distance east of Sakala), he was robbed by brigands and lodged in a neighbouring village; starting from which on the next day, he passed the frontiers of the kingdom of Takka, and reached a large town with many thousand inhabitants. This was probably Lahore, the old Lohawar (the Rav was evidently the boundary *de facto* of Takka). He remained here one month, and then proceeding eastward, he arrived at the capital of a country Chinapati, 500 *li* from Sakala. This was probably the large old town of Patti, 10 miles to the west of the Biyas river. About 10 miles south-west of this (the *Si-yu-ki* has 500 *li* by mistake for 50) was a monastery; this would place us at the point of the confluence of the Biyas and Satlaj rivers. The question to be settled is whether at this point there is a mountain or a hill round which for a distance, of 20 *li*

(*Contd. on page 6*

the foundations are still firm and strong. It is about 20 *li* in circuit. In the midst of it they have built a little town of about 6 or 7 *li* in circuit; the inhabitants are prosperous and rich. This was the old capital of the country. Some centuries ago there was a king called Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo (Mahirakula),⁶ who established his authority in this town and ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception.⁷ In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent⁸ should wait on him. Now it happened that none of the priests dared to attend to his command. Those who had few desires and were content, did not care about distinction; those of superior learning and high renown despised the royal bounty (*glitter*). At this time there was an old servant in the king's household who had long worn the religious garments. He was of distinguished ability and able to enter on discussion, and was very eloquent. The priests put him forward in answer to the royal appeal. The king said, "I have a respect for the law of Buddha, and I invited from far any renowned priest (*to come and instruct me*), and now the congregation have put forward this servant to discuss with me. I always thought that amongst the priests there were men of illustrious ability after what has happened to-day what has further respect can I have for the priesthood?" He then issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to over throw the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining.

Baladitya⁹-raja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mahirakula (Ta-tso), he strictly

Contd. from page 5)

monasteries and *stupas* could be grouped. General Cunningham speaks of this neighbourhood as constituting the sandy bed of the Biyas river (*op. cit.*, p 201). But, at any rate, such a situation agrees with the next measurement of 140 or 150 *li* to Jalandhar. We should thus have a total of 660 *li* (132 miles) eastward from Sakala to Jallandhara, which is as nearly as possible correct as projected General Cunningham's map (*op. cit.*, No. vi).

6. For Mahirakula, see *ante*, Book iii, n. 1. The interpretation of the name is given by the Chinese editor as *Ta-tso*, i. e., "great tribe or family;" but *mahira* or *mihira* signifies "the sun;" it should therefore be "the family of the sun."
7. The kingdoms of the neighbouring districts all submitted to him.
8. Or "eminent virtue;" but *tih* (virtue) refers to general gifts or endowments.
9. Baladitya, explained by *yeou jih*, i.e., the young sun or the rising sun. Julien

(Contd. on page 7)

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guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mahirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. Baladitya-raja, knowing his renown, said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them (their troops); by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass."

Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the islands¹⁰ of the sea.

Mahirakula-raja, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to go attack Baladitya. The king guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mahirakula alive as captive, and brought him into the presence (of *Baladitya*).

The king Mahirakula being overcome with shame at his defeat, covered his face with his robe. Baladitya sitting on his throne with his ministers round him, ordered one of them to tell the king to uncover himself as he wished to speak with him.

Contd. from page 6)

translates it too literally, "le soleil des enfants." Julien has observed and corrected the mistake in the note, where the symbol is *wan* for *yeou*. With respect to the date of Baladitya, who was contemporary with Mahirakula who put Simha, the twenty-third Buddhist patriarch, to death, we are told that he was a grandson of Buddhagupta (Hwui-lih, p. 150, Julien's trans.), and according to Général Cunningham (*Archœological Survey*, vol. ix. p. 21) Buddhagupta was reigning approximately A.D. 349, and his silver coins extend his reign to A.D. 368. His son was Tathagatagupta, and his successor was Baladitya. Allowing fifty years for these reigns, we arrive at 420 A.D. for the end, probably, of Baladitya's reign. This, of course, depends on the initial date of the Gupta period; if it is placed, as Dr Oldenberg (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. x. p. 321) suggests, A.D. 319, then the reign of Buddhagupta will have to be brought down 125 years later, and he would be reigning 493 A.D.; in this case Baladitya would be on the throne too late for the date of Simha, who was certainly many years before Buddhadharma (the twenty-eighth patriarch), who reached China A.D. 520. The earlier date harmonises with the Chinese records, which state that a Life of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, was written by Kumarajiva A.D. 409, and also that a history of the patriarchs down to Simha, whom we place hypothetically about 420 A.D., was translated in China A.D. 472; both these statements are possible if the date proposed be given to Baladitya.

10. It may be translated, "an island of the sea."

Mahirakula answered, "The subject and the master have changed places; that enemies should look on one another is useless; and what advantage is there in seeing my face during conversation ?"

Having given the order three times with no success, the king then ordered his crimes to be published, and said, "The field of religious merit connected with the three precious objects of reverence is a public¹¹ blessing; but this you have overturned and destroyed like a wild beast. Your religious merit is over, and unprotected by fortune; you are my prisoner. Your crimes admit of no extenuation you must die."

At this time the mother of Baladitya was of wide celebrity on account of her vigorous intellect and her skill in casting horoscopes. Hearing that they were going to kill Mahirakula, she addressed Baladitya- raja and said, "I have understood that Mahirakula is of remarkable beauty and vast wisdom, I should like to see him once."

Baladitya- raja (Yeou-jih) ordered them to bring in Mahirakula to the presence of his mother in her palace. Then she said, "Alas ! Mahirakula, be not ashamed ! Worldly things are impermanent; success and discomfiture follow one another according to circumstances. I regard myself as your mother and you as my son; remove the covering from your face and speak to me."

Mahirakula said, "A little while ago I was prince of a victorious country, now I am a prisoner condemned to death. I have lost my kingly estate and I am unable to offer my religious services;¹² I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverance.¹³ Therefore I hide my face with my mantle." The mother of the king said, "Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion; gain and loss come in turn. If you give way to events (*things*), you are lost; but if you rise above circumstances, though you fall, you may rise again. Believe me, the result of deeds depends on the occasion. Lift the covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life."

Mahirakula, thanking her, said, "I have inherited a kingdom without having the necessary talent for government, and so I have abused the royal power in inflicting punishment for this reason I have lost my

11. Belonging to the world or creatures born in the world.

12. The ancestral sacrifices.

13. Perhaps a better translation would be : "In truth I am ashamed; whether I cast my eyes downward or upward, in heaven or earth I am unable to find deliverance."

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kingdom. But though I am in chains, yet I desire life if only for a day. Let me then thank you with uncovered face for your offer of safety." Whereupon he removed his mantle and showed his face. The king's mother said, "My son is well-favoured;¹⁴ he will die after his years are accomplished." Then she said to Baladitya, "In agreement with former regulations, it is right to forgive crime and to love to give life. Although Mahirakula has long accumulated sinful actions, yet his remnant of merit is not altogether exhausted. If you kill this man, for twelve years you will see him with his pale face before you. I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north."

Then Baladitya-raja, obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom; gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

Mahirakula-raja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mahirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts, and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum. The king of Kashmir received him with honour, and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, and killed the king of Kashmir and placed himself on the throne. Profiting by this victory and the renown it got him, he went to the west, plotting against the kingdom of Gandhara. He set some soldiers in ambush and took and killed the king. He exterminated the royal family and the chief minister, overthrew the *stupas*, destroyed the *sangharamas*, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations. Besides those whom his soldiers had killed there were nine hundred thousand whom he was about to destroy without leaving one. At this time all the ministers addressed him and said, "Great king ! your prowess has gained a great victory, and our soldiers are no longer engaged in conflict. Now that you have punished the chief, why would you charge the poor people with fault ? Let us, insignificant as we are, die in their stead."

The king said, "You believe in the law of Buddha and greatly reverence the mysterious law of merit. Your aim is to arrive at the condition of Buddha, and then you will declare fully, under the form of

14. This is an obscure sentence; Julien translates it "have a care for yourself : you must accomplish the term of your life."

Jatakas,¹⁵ my evil deeds, for the good future of generations. Now go back to your estates, and say no more on the subject."

Then he slew three ten myriads of people of the first rank by the side of the *Sin-tu* river; the same number of the middle rank he drowned in the river, and the same number of the third rank he divided among his soldiers (*as slaves*). Then he took the wealth of the country he had destroyed, assembled his troops, and returned. But before the year was out he died.¹⁶ At the time of his death there was thunder and hail and a thick darkness; the earth shook and a mighty tempest raged. Then the holy saints said in pity, "For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into lowest hell,¹⁷ where he shall pass endless ages of revolution.¹⁸

In the old town of *Sakala* (*She-ki-lo*) is a *sangharama* with about 100 priests, who study the Little Vehicle. In old days *Vasubandhu* (*Shi-r'sin*) *Bodhisattva* composed in this place the treatise called *Shing-i-tai* (*Paramarthasatya Sastra*).

By the side of the convent is a *stupa* about 200 feet high; on this spot the four former Buddhas preached the law, and here again are the traces of their walking to and fro (*king-hing*).

To the north-west of the *sangharama* 5 or 6 *li* is a *stupa* about 200 feet high built by *Asoka-raja*. Here the four past Buddhas preached.

About 10 *li* to the north-east of the new capital we come to a *stupa* of stone about 200 feet in height, built by *Asoka*. This is where *Tathagata*, when he was going northward on his work of conversion, stopped in the middle of the road. In the records of India (*In-tu-ki*) it is said, "In this *stupa* are many relics; on holidays they emit a bright light."

From this¹⁹ going east 500 *li* or so, we come to *Chi-na-po-ti* (*Chinapati*) country.

15. That is to say, when they had arrived at the condition of omniscience they would in future ages declare how *Mahirakula* was suffering under some form of birth or other, in consequence of his evil deeds. This was one of the methods of Buddha's teaching.
16. The expression *tsu lo* means "to wither away like a falling leaf."
17. The lowest hell is the *Wu-kan-tiluh*, the hell without interval (*avichi*) i.e., without interval of rest, a place of incessant torment. It is the lowest of the places of torment. See *Catena of Buddhis Scriptures*, p.59.
18. This may also mean that his torments even then i.e., after this punishment, would not be finished. The Buddhist idea of the suffering in *Avichi* was not connected with its eternal duration. See Eitel *Handbook*, sub voc.
19. That is, from *Sakala*; not from the large city (Lahore) on the frontiers of *Takka*, as V. de St. Martin states (*Memoire*, p. 330),

Chi-Na-Po-Ti (Chinapati)²⁰

This country is about 2000 *li* in circuit. The capital is about 14 or 15 *li* round. It produces abundant harvests,²¹ the fruit trees are thinly scattered. The people are contented and peaceful; the resources of the country are abundant. The climate is hot and humid; the people are timid and listless. They are given to promiscuous study, and there are amongst them believers and the contrary. There are ten *sangharamas* and eight Deva temples.

Formerly, when Kanishka-raja was on the throne, his fame spread throughout the neighbouring countries, and his military power was recognised by all. The tributary princes²² to the west of the (*Yellow*) River, in recognition of his authority, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-raja having received the hostages, he treated them with marked attention. During the three seasons of the year he appointed them separate establishments, and afforded them special guards of troops.²³ This country was the residence of the hostages during the winter. This is the reason why it is called Chinapati,²⁴ after the name of the residence of the hostages.

20. The country of Chinapati appears to have stretched from the Ravi to the Satlaj. General Cunningham places the capital at Chine or Chinigari, 11 miles north of Amritsar (*Arch. Survey*, vol. xiv. p. 54). This situation does not agree with the subsequent bearings and distances. It is, for example, some 60 miles (300 *li*) north-west from Sultanpur (Tamasavana) instead of 10 miles (50 *li*): moreover, Jalandhara bears south-east, from Chine instead of north-east, and the distance is nearly 70 miles instead of 28 or 30. The situation of the large and very old town called Patti or Pati, 10 miles to the west of the Biyas river and 27 to the north-east of Kasur, appears to suit the measurements and bearings as nearly as possible (*Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 200). It is unfortunate, however, that the distances in General Cunningham's maps in the *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, and the volume of the *Arch. Survey* do not agree.
21. Literally, sowing and reaping are rich and productive.
22. I translate it thus after Julien, as there is some obscurity in the text. It might perhaps, be rendered "the united tribes of the Fa people." The Fan were Tibetans or associated tribes.
23. Literally, "four soliders stood on guard," i.e., they had four soldiers outside their quarters to protect them.
24. Rendered in a note "*Tang fung*," i.e., "lord of China;" this seems to show that *Pati* is the right restoration of *po-ti* (compare Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. of India*, vol. xiv. p. 54). The fact of the name China being given to this country on account of the hostages confirms the restoration of *Charaka* to *Serika*, *Ante*, Book I, n. 203.

There existed neither pear nor peach in this kingdom and throughout the Indies until the hostages planted them, and therefore the peach is called *Chinani*, and the pear is called *Chinarajaputra*.²⁵ For this reason the men of this country have a profound respect for the Eastern land. Moreover (*when they saw me*) they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler."²⁶

To the south-east of the capital 500²⁷ *li* or so, we come to the convent called *Ta-mo-su-fa-na* (*dark forest*, i.e., Tamasavana). There are about 300 priests in it, who study the doctrine of the Sarvastivada school. They (*the congregation*) have a dignified address, and are of conspicuous virtue and pure life. They are deeply versed in the teaching of the Little Vehicle. The 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadarakalpa will explain, in this country, to the assembly of the Devas the principles of the excellent law.

Three hundred years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha the master of *sastras* called Katyayana composed here the *Fa-chi-lun* (*Abhidharmajnana-prasthana Sastra*).²⁸

In the convent of the *dark forest* there is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was erected by Asoka-raja. By its side are traces of the four

- 25. Cunningham remarks that there can be no doubt of the introduction of China peach, as in the north-west of India it is still known by that name (*op. cit.*, p. 54).
- 26. That is, of Kanishka and his associates. They belonged to the Gushan tribe of the *Yuet-chi*, who came originally from the borders of China. See *ante*, Book I, n. 200.
- 27. In the life of Hiuen Tsiang by Hwui-lih, the distance given from the capital of Chinapati to the convent of "the forest" is 50 *li* (Book ii. p. 102, Julien's translation). This is probably the correct distance: the 500 *li* in the text is an error of the copyist. The convent is fixed by General Cunningham at Sultanpur or Dalla Sultanpur. It is one of the largest towns in the Jalandhara Doab (*op. cit.*, p. 55).
- 28. This work was translated into Chinese by Sanghadeva and another in A. D. 383. Another translation was made by Hiuen Tsiang A. D. 657. If the usual date of Buddha's *Nirvana* be adopted (viz., 400 years before Kanishka), Katyayana would flourished in the first century or about 20 B. C. See. Weber, *Sansk. Liter.*, p. 222. His work was the foundation of the *Abhidharma-mahavibhasha Sastra* composed during the council under Kanishka. (See Bunyiu Nanjo, *Catalogue of Buddhist Translation* No. 1263).

past Buddhas, where they sat and walked. There is a succession of little *stupas* and large stone houses facing one another, of an uncertain number; here, from the beginning of the kalpa till now, saints who have obtained the fruit (of *Arhats*) have reached *Nirvana*. To cite all would be difficult. Their teeth and bones still remain. The convents gird the mountain²⁹ for about 20 *li* in circuit, and the *stupas* containing relics of Buddha are hundreds and thousands in number; they are crowded together, so that one overshadows in other.

Going north-east from this country, 140 or 150 *li*, we come to the country of Che-lan-t'o lo (*Jalandhara*.)

Che-Lan-T'o-Lo (*Jalandhara*)

This kingdom³⁰ is about 1000 *li* from east to west, and about 800 *li* from north to south. The capital is 12 or 13 *li* in circuit. The land is favourable for the cultivation of cereal's, and it produces much rice. The forests are thick and umbrageous, fruits and flowers abundant. The climate is warm and moist, the people brave and impetuous, but their appearance is common and rustic. The houses are rich and well supplied. There are fifty convents, or so; about 2000 priests. They have students both of the Great and Little Vehicle. There are three temples of Devas and about 500 heretics, who all belong to the *Pasupatas* (*cinder-sprinkled*).

29. There is probably a false reading in the text, either (1) *Shan*, a mountain is a mistake for *Sang*, which would give us *Sang-Kia-lan*, "Sangharama," instead of *kia-lan*, or else (2) *Shah* is for *yau*, a very common misprint. In the first case the translation would then be "the teeth and bones still exist around the sangharama;" or, if the second reading be adopted, the rendering would be "the teeth and bones still exist all round, from (*yau*) the *kia-lan*, for a circuit of 20 *li*," &c. Perhaps the first correction is preferable. I am satisfied the reading as it is, is corrupt.

30. Jalandhara, a well-known place in the Punjab (lat. 31° 19' N., long. 75° 28' E.). We may therefore safely reckon from it in testing Hiuen Tsiang's figure. From Sultanpur to Jalandhara is as nearly as possible 50 miles north-east. Hiuen Tsiang gives 150 or 140 *li* in the same direction. Assuming the capital of Chinapati to be 50 *li* north-west of Sultanpur, that distance and bearing would place us on the right bank of the Biyas river, near the old town of Patti. Reckoning back to Sakala, the distance (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, map vi) is just 100 miles north of west Hiuen Tsiang gives 500 *li* west. From this it seems that the computation of five *li* to the mile is, in this part of India at least, a safe one. For a full account of Jalandhara and its importance, see (Contd. on page 14)

A former king of this land showed great partiality for the heretics, but afterwards, having met with an Arhat and heard the law, he believed and understood it. Therefore the king of Mid-India, out of regard for his sincere faith, appointed him sole inspector of the affairs of religion (*the three gems*) throughout the five Indies. Making light of party distinctions (*this or that*), with no preference or dislike, he examined into the conduct of the priests, and probed their behaviour with wonderfull sagacity. The virtuous and the well-reported of, he reverenced and openly regarded; the disorderly he punished. Wherever there were traces of the holy one (*or, ones*), he built either *stupas* or *sangharamas*, and there was no place within the limits of India he did not visit and inspect.

Going north-east from this, skirting along some high mountain passes and traversing some deep valleys, following a dangerous road, and crossing many ravines, going 700 *li* or so, we come to the country of K'iu-lu-to (Kuluta).

K'iu-Lu-To (Kuluta)

This country³¹ is about 300 *li* in circuit, and surrounded on every side by mountains. The chief town is about 14 or 15 *li* round. The land is rich and fertile, and the crops are duly sown and gathered. Flowers and fruits are abundant, and the plants and trees afford a rich vegetation. Being contiguous to the Snowy Mountains, there are found here many medicinal (*roots*) of much value. Gold, silver, and copper

Cont. from page 13)

Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.). It is sometimes stated that the council under Kanishka was held in the Jalandhara convent, that is, the Tamasauana Sangharama (V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 333n.) The fact that Katyayana lived and wrote in this establishment, and that the great work of the council was to write a commentary on his *sutra*, would so far be in accord with the statement. Hiuen Tsiang on his return journey was accompanied to Jalandhara by Uedita, the king of North India, who made this his capital. Shortly after this a Shaman, Yuan-chiu, from China stopped here four years, studying Sanskrit, with the Mung king, perhaps the same Uedita (J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. xiii., p. 563). The way through Kapisa was shortly after this time (664 A.D.) occupied by the Arabs (*op. cit.*, p. 564).

31. Kuluta, the district of Kulu in the upper valley of the Biyas river, It is also called Koluka and Koluta,—Ramsay, iv. 43, 8; *Brih. Samh.*, xiv, 22, 29; Wilson *Hindi, Theat.*, vol. ii, p. 165; Saint-Martin, *Etude sur la Geog., Grec.*, pp. 300 f. The present capital is Sultanpur (Cunningham). The old capital was called Nagar or Nagarkot.

THE ACCOUNT OF HIEUN TSIANG

are found here—fire-drops (*crystal*) and native coppa (*teou*). The climate is unusually cold, and hail or snow continually falls. The people are coarse and common in appearance, and are much afflicted with goitre and tumours. Their nature is hard and fierce; they greatly regard justice and bravery. There are about twenty *sangharamas*, and 1000 priests or so. They mostly study the Great Vehicle; a few practise (*the rules of*) other schools (*nikayas*). There are fifteen Deva temples: different sects occupy them without distinction.

Along the precipitous sides of the mountains and hollowed into the rocks are stone chambers which face one another. Here the Arhats dwell or the Rishis stop.

In the middle of the country is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. Of old the Tathagata came to this country with his followers to preach the law and to save men. This *stupa* is a memorial of the traces of his presence.

Going north from this, along a road thick with dangers and precipices, about 1800 or 1900 *li*, along mountains and valleys, we come to the country of Lo-u-lo (Lahul).³²

North of this 2000 *li* or so, travelling by a road dangerous and precipitous, where icy winds and flying snow (*assault the traveller*), we come to the country of Mo-lo-so (called also *San-po-ho*).³³

Leaving the country of *K'iu-lu-to* and going south 700 *li* or passing a great mountain and crossing a wide river, we come to the country of She-to-t'u-lo (Satadru).

She-To-T'u-Lu (Satadru)

This country³⁴ is about 2000 *li* from east to west, and borders on

32. Lahul, the Lho-yal of the Ti-betans.

33. This country is also called *San-po-ho* (*Sampaha?*)—*Ch*, *Ed*. The suggestion of General Cunningham that *Mo-lo-so* should be read Marpo (*Mo-lo-po*, *St. Martin, Mem.*, p. 331) is quite admissible. *Mo-lo* is equal to *mar*, and the symbol *so* is often mistake for *po*. The province of Ladak is called *Mar-po* or the "red district," from the colour of the soil. The distance given by Hiuen Tsiang viz., 4600 *li* from Jalandhara, is no doubt much in excess of the straight route to Ladak, but as he went no further than Kuluta himself the other distance viz., 1900—2000 *li*, must have been gathered from hearsay. Doubtless the route would be intricate and winding.

34. Satadru—also spelt Sutudri, Satudri, and Sitadrus, "flowing in a hundred branches"—the name of the Satlaj (Gerard's *Koonawur*, p. 28). It is the *Hesidrus* (or *Hesudrus*) of Pliny (*H.N.*, lib. vi. c. 17, 21) and the *Zaradros* or

(*Contd. on page 16*

a great river. The capital is 17 or 18 *li* in circuit. Cereals grow in abundance, and there is very much fruit. There is an abundance of gold and silver found here, and precious stones. For clothing the people wear a very bright silk stuff; their garments are elegant and rich. The climate is warm and moist. The manners of the people are soft and agreeable; the men are docile and virtuous. The high and low take their proper place. They all sincerely believe in the law of Buddha and show it great respect. Within and without the royal city there are ten *sangharamas*, but the halls are now deserted and cold, and there are but few priests. To the south-east of the city 3 or 4 *li* is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. Beside it are the traces where the four past Buddhas sat or walked.

Going again from this south-west about 800 *li*, we come to the kingdom of *Po-li-ye-to-lo* (*Paryatra*).

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Zadares of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 27, 42). See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i., p. 57. It also appears to have been the name of a kingdom of which Sarhind was probably the chief town, referred to in the text.

The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (India, Maldives Islands and Ceylon)

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

MAHDI HUSSAIN*

The Account of Ibn Battuta

Then I travelled from Uch to the city of Multan, the capital of the province of Sind and the residence of its governor (*amir ul-umara*). On the road to it, and at a distance of ten miles from it,¹ runs the river known as Khusroabad.² It is one of the great rivers, which cannot be crossed except by boats. There the strictest search is made of the passengers' goods and their luggage inspected. At the time of our arrival it was the custom at Multan that one-fourth of the commodities brought by the merchants was appropriated by the State and on every horse was levied a tax of seven *dinars*. Two years after our arrival in India the Sultan remitted these taxes. And he ordered that nothing should be realized from the merchants (*an-nas*)³ except the *zakat*⁴ and '*ushr*',⁵ when he took the oath of allegiance to Abu'l 'Abhas, the

* 'Multan to Delhi—The Rehla of Ibn Battuta' *Greeks Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1953, pp. 11-24.

1. Multan.
2. Khusroabad was 'probably an arm of the Ravi or the Ravi itself...' (Mzik, note 23). I agree with Mzik. On his way from Uch to Multan Ibn Battuta should have crossed the Sutlej, then the Ravi; Khusroabad as a river or channel finds no mention on the maps. See, p. lxxvi *supra*.
3. For *an-nas* the French scholars give 'voyageurs' i.e. travellers (Def. *et Sang* III, p. 117). Subsequently the same word has been translated as 'people' (*Ibid.*, p. 288). I also feel that Ibn Battuta has not always used the word *an-nas* in its literal sense as has been shown in this book (*vide* foot notes pp. 5, 34, 50, 54, 63, 64, 73, 99, 104, 109, 111, 114, 121, 134, 136, 167, 172, 225). But the remark in question must needs be read along with the subsequent statement of Ibn Battuta (Def. *et Sang*. III, p. 288). It would appear that in 741/1340 the Sultan being anxious to rehabilitate himself made concessions not only to the travellers and merchants but also to other classes of people. This has been discussed in Chapter IX of *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*.
4. and 5. This statement of Ibn Battuta has been mistaken as an evidence of the abolition of all the taxes except the *zakat* and '*ushr*' in the empire of Delhi *vide* A.A., p. 19). But a subsequent statement in the *Rehla* (*vide*, p. 84, *infra*) to the effect that Sultan Muhammad abolished surplus taxes on horse trade and ordered that *zakat* should be taken from the Muslim merchants and

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Abbasid Caliph. When we took to crossing the river and when the luggage began to be inspected, I felt very much aggrieved about the

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'ushr from the infidels' urges the conclusion that on taking the oath of allegiance to the Abbasid caliph the emperor abolished the high taxes hitherto levied on merchandise and on the horses imported from Turkistan; and he ordered that henceforth only the *zakat* due on imports including the horses should be realized from the Muslim merchants and that the infidel merchants should be made to pay a similar tax under the name of *ushr*. Lane (Bk. I, p. 2051) has made it clear that although 'ushr literally means 'tenth,' legally it also means 'the half of the 10th, i.e. 1/20th or the quarter of the tenth, i.e. 1/40th. It appears that the *ushr* tax was no heavier than the *zaka* tax particularly under Sultan Muhammad who was noted for his great kindness towards the Hindus.

That the Muslims were required to pay the tax under the name of *zakat* was due to the fact that *zakat* was a Quranic injunction from which obviously the Hindus were free. And *zakat* was so called because it literally means purification, and a believer is supposed to purify himself by paying it.

Now *zakat* has been defined as a levy of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on idle, specified coins and one-tenth to one-twentieth of certain agricultural produce. And for the *zakat* to be due on each kind was of wealth there is a minimum exemption limit called *nisab*. In the case of silver the *nisab* is about 56 tolas and in that of gold it is about 6 tolas. In the case of certain cereals and fruits—wheat, barley, dates and grapes—the *nisab* is about 820 sers. As for the agricultural produce, if the land in question is cultivated by means of rain water or the overflow of rivers, the tax will amount to one-tenth of the produce and will diminish to one twentieth if the land is watered by artificial means and hired labour. In the case of cattle the *zakat* tax varies according to the herds and heads of cattle. For example the *nisab* for goats is 40; that for cows 30 and that for camels 5. And what is true of the camels is also true of the horses. That is, horses were classified with camels both being popular riding animals.

Thus it would appear that *zakat* was a comprehensive term and as a leviable tax it included almost all kinds of taxes and comprised even the land revenue and *kharaj*. As for 'ushr which literally means a tithe it should be noted that even before the birth of the Prophet tithes were levied on merchandise that passed through the city of Mecca. And this pre-Islamic practice was recognized by 'Umar the second caliph. When it was reported to him that the Muslim traders were subjected to a 10% tax on merchandise in foreign countries he ordered that the same amount of tax be levied on foreigners trading in Muslim countries. Such was the origin of the aforesaid *ushr*; and it was applied also to the zimmis. *Vide*—

- (i) Ibn 'Abedin—*Radd-ul-mohtar*, Vol. II, p. 2.
- (ii) *Majma-ul-bahrain* (Tabriz), pp. 171, 508.
- (iii) "Allama Hilli—*Tabṣira*, Bombay, p. 40.
- (iv) Shaikh Majd-ud-din—'*Sifr-us-sa' adda*, Cairo, p. 58.

THE REHLA OF IBN BATTUTA

search of my luggage, for although it contained no wealth it looked prominent enough. I did not like my luggage to be searched. And by the grace of God the exalted there came one of the great military officers on behalf of Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Multan, and he ordered that my luggage should not be subjected to scrutiny and search. And exactly so it happened. I praised God for the favours which he conferred on me. We spent that night by the river bank. On the morrow the postal superintendent (*malik-ut-barid*) named Dihqan came to us. He was originally from Samarcand. It was he⁶ who used to write the news of that city and its dependencies to the Sultan—the news concerning all its events and arrivals. I was introduced to him and in company with him I went to the governor of Multan.

Governor of Multan and some particulars about him

The governor of Multan was Qutb-ul-Mulk, one of the great and learned *amirs*. When I went up to him he rose to receive me and shook hands with me, and gave me a seat by his side. I presented him with a slave and horse together with some raisins and almonds. This is one of the greatest presents that can be made to the Indian chiefs, since these cannot be had⁷ in their country and are imported from Khurasan.

This *amir* was sitting on a big dais embellished, with large carpets. Near him was the *qazi* named Salar and the *khatib* whose name I do not remember. On his right and left were the military chiefs; and armed warriors stood high behind his head. The troops passed before him in review. There were many bows. When anyone came desiring to enlist as an archer in the army, he was given one of these bows to pull. These differed in strength; and the salary of the candidate was fixed according to the strength he displayed in pulling the bow. And if he desired to be enlisted in the cavalry a drum was placed. He would drive his horse and strike it with his lance. A ring was also suspended against a small wall. The horseman would make his horse run until he came a breast of it. Should he succeed in lifting it up with his lance he was considered an excellent horseman. If one desired to enlist as a mounted archer, a ball was placed on the ground. The candidate

6. Evidently it was he who was deputed as news officer along with others. See, p. 2, *supra*.

7. See, p. xxxviii, *supra*.

galloped on horseback and aimed the arrow at the ball. His salary was fixed proportionately to his success in striking the ball.

When we waited on this *amir* and greeted him as we have related, he ordered us to be lodged in a house outside the city—a house which belonged to the companions of the pious Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din mentioned above.⁸ As a rule, no one was made a guest there unless orders of the Sultan were received to this effect.

Foreigners whom I met in this city and who had come as visitors to the emperor's court

Of these the *first* is Khudawandzada Qiwam-ud-Din, qazi of Tirmidh⁹ who had come with his family and children. He was later joined by his brothers—'Imad-ud-Din, Ziya-ud-Din and Burhan-ud-Din. The *second* is Mubarak Shah, one of the great personages of Samarqand; the *third* is Arun Bugha, one of the great men of Bukhara; the *fourth* is Malikzada, nephew of Khudawandzada; and the *fifth* is Badr-ud-Din al-Fassal. Each had come with his companions, servants and followers.

Two months after our arrival at Multan there came Shams-ud-Din al-Fushanji, one of the royal chamberlains, as well as Malik Muhammad al-Hanavi, the *Kotwal*. They had been sent by the Sultan to receive Khudawandzada, and were accompanied by three young waiters who were sent by Makhduma-i-Jahan, the Sultan's mother, to receive the wife of Khudawandzada. They brought robes of honour for them¹⁰ and their children, and were commissioned to furnish provisions for all the visitors. Then all of them¹¹ came to me and asked me the object of my visit. I told them that I had come to remain in the service of *Khund 'alām*,¹² and the Sultan in his dominions goes by this title. He had issued orders that no comer from Khurasan¹³ should be allowed to enter Indian territory unless he come with the express purpose of staying in India. When I told them that I had come with the object of staying, the *qazis* and notaries (*udul*) were sent for; and they made me write a

8. See, p. 6, *supra*.

9. An old town on the Oxus.

10. I.e., Khudawandzada and his wife.

11. I.e., the chamberlains and waiters.

12. I.e., lord of the world.

13. I.e., every foreigner, since all the foreigners were indiscriminately known as *Khurasani*.

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bond in my name and in the name of those of my companions who desired to stay. Some of my companions refused thus to bind themselves.

We prepared to travel to the capital which lies at a distance of forty day's jouraey through fertile land. The chamberlain and his companion made the necessary arrangements for feeding Qiwan-ud-Din; and they took along with them about twenty cooks from Multan. The chamberlain used to go ahead in the night to a station to secure the eatables and other things; and as soon as Khudawandzada arrived he found his meals ready. Each of these visitors whom I have mentioned used to put up separately in his tents with his companions; and sometimes they attended the meal prepared for Khudawandzada. As for me, I attended it only once. And the order in which the meal is served is this: to begin with loaves are served which are very thin¹⁴ and resemble cakes¹⁵ of bread then they cut the roasted meat into large pieces in such a manner that one sheep yields from four to six pieces. One piece is served before each man. Also they make round cakes of bread¹⁶ soaked in ghee¹⁷ resembling the bread called *mushrak* in our country; and in the midst of these they place the sweet called *sabunia*.¹⁸ On every piece of bread is placed a sweet cake called *khishki* which means 'brick-like'¹⁹—a preparation of flour, sugar and ghee. Then they serve meat cooked in ghee, onion and green ginger in China dishes. Then is brought a thing called *samosa* (*samusak*)—minced meat cooked with almond, walnut, pistachios, onion and spices placed inside a thin bread and fried in ghee. In front of every person are placed from four to five of such *samosas*. Then is brought a dish of rice cooked in ghee on the top of which is a roasted fowl.²⁰ And next is brought the *luqaimat-ul-qazi*²¹ which is called *hashimi*. Then is brought *al-qahiriya*,²² before the dinner

14. i.e., *chapati*.

15. *Jaradiq*—plural of *jardaq* and an Arabicized form of the Persian *girda*, a thick round cake—were a kind of sea-cakes.

16. i.e., *paratha*.

17. *Samn* which means clarified butter.

18. i.e., the *sabuni* which is a mixture of almonds, honey and sesame oil called after 'Sabuni'—a small island off Egypt on the eastern bank of the Nile. (*Kitab-ul-khitat*, III, p. 301 and *Mu'jam-ul-buldan*, III, p. 356.)

19. Still the shape of cakes on fashionable dinner tables.

20. i.e., *pulao* with 'murg' musallam' in its classical form.

21. i.e., a kind of sweets. See p. 139, *infra*, footnote 2.

22. i.e., a kind of pudding introduced from Qahira.

begins the chamberlain stands at the head of the dinner-carpet (*simat*) and performs the bow (*khidmat*) in the direction of the Sultan; and all present do the same. The *khidmat* in India consists in bowing down to the knee as in prayer. After this the people sit down to eat; and then are brought gold, silver and glass cups filled with fine sugar-water perfumed with rose-water which they call *sherbet*. After they have taken the *sherbet* the chamberlain calls out *Bismillah*.²³ Then all begin to eat. At the end of the dinner jugs of barley-drink²⁴ (*suqqa*) are brought; and when these have been consumed betel-leaves and nuts are served which have already been mentioned. After the people have taken the betel and nuts, the chamberlain calls out *Bismillah*, whereupon all stand up and bow in the same way as before. Then they retire.

We travelled from the city of Multan; and until our arrival in the country of Hindustan (*al-Hind*) our suite pursued the journey in the same order as we have described. The first city that we entered was that of Abohar.²⁵ It is the first of the cities of Hind (*al-Hind*); it is small, handsome and thickly-populated and possesses rivers and trees. Of the trees of our country there is none there except the zizyphus lotus (*nabq*). But the Indian zizyphus lotus is very big; its stone is equal in volume to that of the gall-nut and is very sweet. The Indians have many trees none of which exists in our or any other country.

Indian trees and fruits

One of them is the mango²⁶ (*amba*). Its tree is like that of the orange, though bigger in size with a larger number of leaves, and its

23. *Bismillah* which literally means 'in the name of God' is a Quaraic phrase commonly used by the Muslims at the opening of every ceremonious action and at commencing to do anything which they consider serious.

24. See, p. 66, *infra*.

25. Abohar—an old town in the Fazilka Tahsil of Firozpur district, Punjab—is said to have been founded by the Bhatti king, Jaura who named it Ubohar (the Pool of Uboh) after his wife. Early in the fourteenth century Barani described it as the seat of the Bhatti Rajputs; and it was held by Rana Mal Bhatti during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji. In A.C. 1328 it was the scene of a decisive battle between the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq and Kishlu Khan. (See *The Rise and Fall Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 146.)

Abohar was also the native place of Shams Siraj Afif, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*.

26. 'Mango' (*mangifera indica*) is known as *amra* (आम) in Sanskrit, *am* in Bengali and as *am* and *amb* in Hindi. Ibn Battuta has used the Hindi word

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THE REHLA OF IBN BATTUTA

shadow is deepest. But it is unhealthy and whoever sleeps under it is seized with fever. The fruit of the tree is as large as a big pear and is green before it is quite ripe. The mangoes which have fallen from the trees are picked up, sprinkled with salt and pickled like the sweet lime and lemon in our country. The Indians treat green ginger and pepper in the same way; they eat these pickles with their food taking after each mouthful a little of the pickle. When in autumn²⁷ (*kharif*)²⁸ the mango is ripe, it becomes very yellow and is eaten like an apple. Some people cut it with a knife and others suck it to the finish. This fruit is sweet but has a slightly sour taste. It has a large stone which is sown like the orange pip or some other seed and the trees grow from this.

Then there are the jack trees (*shaki*²⁹ *wa barki*) which live to a great age. Their leaves look like those of the walnut and the fruit grows out of the root³⁰ of the tree. The fruit which is near the soil is

Contd. from page 22)

which was current then, but has Arabicized it as *amba*. His account of the mango tree and fruit is borne out by the modern botanists (E.B. XIV) and also by Amir Kuusrav who calls it 'naghzak' and describes it as the most elegant of the Indian fruits (B.N. F.294b) and says how fond he was of the mango pickle eating it invariably with his food taking after each mouthful a little of the pickle' (A.A., p. 27). This is exactly what Ibn Battuta has remarked in regard to the mango pickle; and he implies that the mango served as victuals—victuals being the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word *antra* (Monier-Williams).

27. and 28. The word *kharif* which has been translated as autumn is, according to Lane (Bk. I, Pt. 2, p. 726), 'not the name of a division of the year but the name of the rain of summer.' It follows that the period of ripening described in the *Rehla* is the month of June when the summer rains break out. This is corroborated by Babar (B.N.; F. 294) who says that 'the mangoes ripen during the rainy season.' In his account of the mango (*Mangifera Indica*) a modern botanist says, 'The flowers usually appear from the end of January to March and the fruits mostly ripen from May to July, though some varieties produce fruit at different times of the year' (Benthall, A.P.—*The trees of Calcutta and its neighbourhood*, p. 134).
29. 'Shaki' is the Arabic form of *chaki* which is identical with *kathal* or jack-tree (*artocarpus integra*). Ibn Battuta's account of it is corroborated by the authentic work on Indian medicine called the *Makhzan-ul-adwiya* I, p. 474, as well as by Nairne (Nairne, A.N.—*The Flowering Plants of Western India*, pp. 308-09).
30. Ibn Battuta's statement regarding the fruit growing out of the root is confirmed by the *Makhzan-ul-adwiya*, I, p. 475, as well as by Benthall who says, 'Some very old trees produce their fruits on their roots in which case the position of the fruit is only disclosed by the cracking of the earth above it' (Benthall, A.P., *op. cit.*, p. 401).

called *barki*; it is sweeter, and of a more agreeable taste. And the fruit which grows on the upper part is called *shaki*; it resembles a large pumpkin with a skin like the hide of a cow. When it becomes yellow in autumn (*kharif*) it is plucked and torn up; and inside each fruit from a hundred to two hundred seed-vessels resembling the cucumber are found. Between every two seed-vessels there is a yellowish film; and each seed-vessel has a stone like that of a large bean. When these stones are roasted or cooked the taste is similar to that of the broad bean which does not exist there. These stones are preserved in reddish earth and last till the following year. This fruit is one of the best in India.

Next, the *diospyros peregrina* (*tendu*) is the fruit of the ebony tree; each fruit is as large as the apricot which it resembles also in colour. It is extremely sweet.

Next the *jambol* (*jumun*).³¹ Its trees are large and their fruit is like the olive. It is black in colour and like the olive has one stone.

Then the sweet orange (*naranj*).³² It is very abundant in India. As for the sour orange it is rare. There is a third species of orange which half-way between the sweet and the sour. This fruit is as large as a sweet lime. It is very agreeable in taste. I liked to eat it.

Next the *madhuka latifolia* (*mahwa*).³³ Its trees live to a great age, and the leaves are like those of the walnut except that they are of a red and yellow colour. The fruit of the *mahwa* is like a small pear. It is extremely sweet. In the upper part of each fruit is a small hollow seed as large as that of the grape. It resembles the grape in taste, but when eaten in large numbers gives a headache. What is astonishing is that when these seeds are dried in the sun they taste like figs. I ate these

31. It is called 'jaman' or jamun in Hindi, as 'jum' or phaunda in Bengali and as jambol, or black plum in English, its botanic name being *syzygium cumini*.

32. A more lively account of the Indian oranges which is not incompatible with that of Ibn Battuta is given by Babar (B.N., F. 295a).

33. In regard to the *mahwa* Ibn Battuta's account is borne out by Babar (B.N., F. 29a), Nairne (p. 171) and Bentall. 'The *mahwa* is a very important tree in most of the dryer parts of India owing to its valuable timber and fruits but particularly on account of its fragrant, fleshy petals which are eaten both raw and cooked, are made into sweet meats and are the principal source of country spirit in many districts... Properly prepared they are said to be pleasant to eat tasting rather like pressed figs.' (Bentall, A.P., *op. cit.*, p. 292.)

instead of the fig which is not to be found in India. The Indians call these fruits *angur*... a word which in their language means grapes. And grape is very rare in India and is found only in some parts of Dehli and in a few other provinces. The *mahwa* bears fruit twice a year, and oil is made out of its stones; this is used for lighting.

Among the Indian fruits there is still another called the *kasera*.³⁴ It is taken out of the earth, and is very sweet resembling the chestnut.

Of the trees which grow in our country we find the pomegranate (*rumman*) in India. This bears fruit twice a year. I have seen some in the Maldivian islands which never stopped bearing fruit. The Indians call it *anar*... a word which, I believe, has given us the word 'julnar' *jul*³⁵ in Persian means a flower, and 'nar' the pomegranate.

Grains which are sown in India and on which they live

The Indians sow the earth twice a year. In summer, when the rains fall, they sow the autumn grain, which is reaped sixty days after the sowing. And the following are the autumn grains, (1) The *Kudhru*, which is a kind of millet; and of all the grains this found most abundantly. (2) The *qal* which is like the *anli*.³⁶ (3) The *shamakh*, whose seeds are smaller than those of the *qal*. Often the *shamakh* grows without being cultivated. It is the staple food of the devout, of the abstainers, of the poor and of the humble who go out to gather that corn which springs up without being cultivated. Each of them holds a huge basket in his left hand and in his right a whip with which he strikes the corn which falls into the basket. In this way they gather enough to live for a whole year. The seed of the *shamakh* is very small. When it has been gathered it is placed in the sun and crushed in wooden mortars; its husk flies away and a white substance remains; and with this a gruel is made which is cooked with buffalo's milk. This gruel is more agreeable than the bread made of the same substance. I ate it often in the country of India and liked its taste. (4) The *mash* which is a species of peas. (5) The *mung* (*munj*) which is a kind of *mash*; but its seed is long and it is bright green in colour. The *munj* (*mung*) is cooked with rice and accompanied

34. i.e., *scirpus grossus*.

35. i.e., *gul*.

36. A kind of millet.

with ghee when eaten. This is called *kishri*³⁷ and they breakfast on it every morning. It is to the Indians what the *harira* is to the people of Morocco. (6) The *lobia* which is a kind of bean. The *mote* (*mut*) which is like the *kudhru* except that its seeds are smaller. In India it forms part of the fodder given to the animals who grow fat by eating it. In this country barley is not considered as strengthening, so that animal food consists of *mote* (*mut*) or chick-peas which is given them to eat after being crushed and moistened in water. Instead of green fodder the *mash* leaves are given to the animals after they have been fed on *ghee* for ten days—three³⁸ or four³⁹ *ratls* per head per day; and during this period they are not ridden. Then they are given *mash* leaves to eat for a month or so, as we have mentioned.

The grains which we have mentioned are the autumn grains. When they have been reaped sixty days after having been sown, the spring grains which are wheat, barley, chick-peas and lentils are sown in the same soil in which the autumn grains had been sown, for their country is excellent and the soil is fertile.

As for rice they sow it three times a year, and it is one of their principal cereals. They also cultivate the sesame and the sugarcane at the same time as the autumn grains which we have mentioned. To return to the subject, we travelled from the city of Abohar through a desert which it would take a day to cross. Along its sides there were inaccessible mountains; and it was inhabited by the Indian infidels who often make the way unsafe. And the inhabitants of India for the most part are infidels. Some of them are subject people under the protection of the Muslims and live in villages. They are placed under a Muslim officer (*hakim*) who is under an '*amil* or *khadim*'⁴⁰ who holds the village in his *iqta*.' Others are rebels who are at war and they fortify themselves in the mountains and waylay the people.

37. 'Kishri' is the Arabic form of 'Khichri' (ਖਿਚੜੀ)—'a dish made of rice and split pulse boiled together with ghi and spices' (Platts). This is the *bhuni* or roasted 'khichri' described in the *Rehla*; and it is still eaten in the morning in some parts as noticed by Ibn Battuta. The ordinary 'khichri' is looked upon as a light diet in northern India; and in Bengal it forms a popular dish.

38. i.e., 1 *ser* and 8 *chataks*.

39. i. e., 2 *sers* of modern Indian weight.

40. Page 100, Cf. p. 19 *supra*. Evidently *khuddam* or *khadim* stands for the States officers like the '*amil* and the *muqti*'.

Our fight on the way—the first I went through in India

When we intended to travel from the city of Abohar, people came out of it in the first part of the day; and I stopped there till mid day amongst a group of my companions. Then we set out. We were twenty-two horsemen, some being Arabs and others non-Arabs. In that desert there sprang upon us eighty infidels on foot and two horsemen. My companions were brave and enduring and they put up a very valiant fight. We killed one of their horsemen and took his horse as a booty; and of those on foot we killed about twelve. An arrow struck me and another struck my horse. But God rescued us from them as their arrows had not much force. Another horse belonging to a companion of mine was wounded; we replaced it by the horse of the infidel and slaughtered the wounded horse which was eaten by the Turks accompanying us. We took the heads of these killed in the fight to the fortress of Abu Bak-har⁴¹ and hung them on the city-wall. We reached this fortress at midnight. Two days after leaving it we reached the city of Ajodhan⁴² (*Ajudahan*)—a small city belonging to the pious Shaikh⁴³ Farid-ud-din⁴⁴ of Budaun (*Budhaun*) whom at Alexandria the holy and pious Shaikh Burhan-ud-din al-Araj had foretold⁴⁵ that I would meet. Accordingly I met him. Thanks to Allah for this. Shaikh Farid-ud-din of Budaun

41. Abu Bak-har which is written in the *Rehla* as Abi Bakhar was probably a small place containing a hospice 20 miles off Ajodhan or Pakpattan on the way to Abohar (A.A., p. 30).

42. Ajodhan which is shown in the map (p. 12) by its modern name Pakpattan lay 10 miles off the Sutlej. Prior to the age of Akbar the Great it was known as *Patansarid* because it was the habitat of the famous saint Shaikh Farid-ud-din Shakarganj. Emperor Akbar rechristened it Pakpattan-holy town—in view of its sanctity.

It should be noted that Ajodhan (Pakpattan) lying in the north of Abohar (see map, p. 12) was visited by Ibn Battuta before Abohar, although it has been mentioned otherwise in the *Rehla*.

43. *Shaikh* which literally means 'an old; elderly man' is specially applied as an appellation of honour to a doctor of religion and law, to a chief of a religious confraternity, tribe or village and to a reputed saint (Lane, p. 1629).

44. There existed no saint of this name at the time of Ibn Battuta's visit. The saint whom Ibn Battuta really met and meant was Shaikh 'Ala-ud-din-Maujdarya, the grandson of Baba Shaikh Farid-ud-din Shakarganj. Shaikh 'Ala-ud-din-Maujdarya was the spiritual guide of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and lived at Ajodhan where he died in 734/1335; and the Sultan is said to have built his mausoleum (J.F., pp. 302-308).

45. Here is the *second* of the three personages foretold (Cf. p. 6, *supra*).

is the spiritual guide (*shaikh*) of the emperor of India (*malik-ul-Hind*) who has bestowed this city on him. This *shaikh* is afflicted with an apprehension of the uncleanness of others. And from this I seek the protection of God. He does not shake hands with anyone and does not go near anyone; and as soon as his garment touches that of another he washes it. I entered his hospice and met him; and I conveyed to him the greetings of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din—a fact which astonished him and he said, 'I am below the greetings you have conveyed.' I met his two learned sons, the elder being Muizz-ud-din. When their father died the latter succeeded to the dignity of sainthood (*Shiyakh*). The younger is Alam-ud-din. I visited the tomb of their grandfather, the pious *qutb*⁴⁶ Fatid-ud-din of Budaun,⁴⁷ so called from his connection with the city (*madina*) of Budaun, the chief town⁴⁸ of Sambhal (*Sanbal*). When I wished to go from this city 'Alam-ud din said to me, 'You must see my father.' So I saw him. He was on his terrace clothed in white; on his head was a big turban the end of which

46. *Qutab* was one of the greatest honorifics and a courtesy-title granted to the most revered personalities among the sufis

47. Baba Farid or Khwaja Farid-ud-din Mas'ud Shakarganj lived at Ajodhan, not at Budaun. He was a real dervish; hence the epithet Baba which won better recognition than the title Khwaja. As for the epithet *Shakarganj* there are two stories. According to one, Baba Farid saw caravan of merchants once passing nearby and carrying bags full of sugar. Baba Farid enquired what the caravan were carrying. The merchants thought that Baba Farid was an ordinary beggar and would demand as such a little sugar if he came to know the contents of the bags. So they pretended that they were carrying salt in the bags. Baba Farid replied, 'Let it be salt.' The caravan then proceeded to their destination where the bags being opened were found containing salt instead of sugar. The merchants then came to Baba Farid and supplicated his goodwill and prayer. He prayed; and the salt was then transformed into sugar (A.A., p 8). According to the other story which Prince Dara Shikoh (S.A., p. 163) has given and which has been drawn upon by European scholars (E.I., IV, p. 290), Baba Farid had become so thin and lean by continued fasting and his body had thereby become so pure that whatever he put into his mouth to allay his hunger including the earth turned into sugar; hence his title *Shakarganj* (sugar-store) which was first conferred on him by his master Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki. He was born in 1173/569 and died at the age of 92 in 1265/664. His teachings and utterances have been collected in the form of books called the *Asrar-ul-auliya* and the *Rahat-ul-qulub* (J.F., p. 178 ff.).

48. Budaun was one of the 23 provinces of Muhammad bin Tughluq's empire; and the city of Budaun was the provincial capital. (Cf. *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 91.)

was hanging on one side. He blessed me and sent me some candy and some refined sugar.

Inhabitants of India who burn themselves

When I left the *shaikh*⁴⁹ I saw people hurrying out of our camp and with them some of my comrades. I asked them what the matter was, and was told that an infidel Hindu had died, that fire was kindled to burn him and that his wife was going to burn herself along with him. When they were both consumed, my comrades returned and told me that the woman had held the dead man in her arms until she was consumed with him. After this, I used to see in India a woman from among the infidel Hindus adorned and seated on horseback and the people following her—Muslims as well as infidels—and drum and bugles playing before her and the Brahmins, who are the great ones from among the Hindus, accompanying her. When this happens in the Sultan's territory they ask him for permission to burn the widow. He gives them permission and they burn her.

After some time it so happened that I was once stopping in a town called Amjeri.⁵⁰ Most of the inhabitants were infidels while the governor of the town was a Muslim of the Samira tribe. Near the town there were infidel rebels. One day they carried out some robbery⁵¹ on the highway and the amir went out to fight them. With him went his subjects—Muslims as well as infidels—and a furious fight took place in which seven of the infidel subjects were killed. Three of them had three respective wives. Their widows agreed to burn themselves. The self-burning of widows is considered praiseworthy by the Hindus without, however, being obligatory. When a widow burns herself, her kinsfolk acquire glory and her faithfulness is highly esteemed. If she does not burn herself she puts on coarse clothes and lives with her relatives as one who is despised for faithlessness. But she is not compelled to burn herself.

49 i.e., Shaikh Ala-ud-din-Mauj-darya.

50. *Amjeri*, otherwise known as Amjhera, lay in Malwa near Dhar; and the *sati* incident described by Ibn Battuta occurred probably during his journey from Dhar, the capital of Malwa, to Daulatabad in 1342/743. See map, p. 150. M.M. Husain has read 'Amjeri' as 'Abrahi' and places it near Multan on the authority of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (see A.A., pp. 33-35).

51. i.e., cut off the road.

When the three aforesaid widows had agreed to burn themselves they passed three days preceding the burning—eating and drinking amidst music and joys as if they wished to bid the world farewell. Women came from all parts to see them. In the morning of the fourth day each was brought a horse which she mounted—adorned and perfumed. In her right hand each held a coconut with which she played; and in the left a mirror in which she saw her face. The Brahmins stood around her, and her relatives accompanied her. In front drums and bugles were played and timbals were beaten. Each of the infidels then spoke to her thus, 'Give my greetings to my father or my brother or my mother or my companion.' And the widow replied smiling, 'I shall.'

I mounted horse with my companions so as to see how these women would behave during the burning ceremony. We walked with them about three miles and came to a dark spot with abundant water and trees shaded by thick foliage. In the midst of the trees stood four pavilions each containing a stone idol. Between the pavilions lay a cistern of water completely shaded by trees with their locking branches through which the sun's rays could not pass. It was as if this spot was one of the valleys of hell; may God keep us far from it.

When I came to these pavilions the three women dismounted near the cistern, plunged in, removed their clothes and ornaments and gave these away as alms. Then each of them was brought a coarse cotton cloth which was unsewn,⁵² part of which they tied round their waist and part over their head and shoulders. Meanwhile, fires had been lit near the cistern in a sunken spot, and the *kunjud* oil—that is the oil of the sesame—was poured intensifying the fury of the flames. There were about fifteen men holding thin wooden faggots, and ten others with large poles. The drum and bugle players stood waiting for the widow to come. The fire was hidden from her view by a blanket held by the men, so that the woman should not afraid. I saw one of these women come up to the blanket, tear it from the hands of those holding it and say smiling the following words :- 'Mara⁵³ mitarsani az atish. Man mi

52. i.e., *sari*.

53. Presumably these women did not speak Persian. They spoke Hindustani as it was then developing; and their Hindustani clauses were probably reproduced in Persian by his fellow-witnesses to Ibn Battuta who was on horseback and not within close hearing.

*danamvoo atish ast; riha kuni ma ra.*⁵⁴ And this means 'Do you want to frighten me with the fire ? I know that it is fire; let me be.' Then she put her hands together over her head as if to salute the fire and threw herself in headlong. At that instant drums, timbals and bugles sounded and the men threw on her the wood they carried. Others placed poles over her lest she should move. Shouts went up and the noise augmented considerably. On beholding this scene I would have fallen from my horse, had not my companions brought water which they threw over my face and so restored me.

The people of India have the same custom in connection with drowning. Many do so voluntarily in the Ganges where they go on pilgrimage. There they throw the ashes of those who have been burnt. The Indians claim that the river has its source in paradise. When anyone comes to drown himself he says to those present, 'Do not imagine that I am drowning myself because of what has happened to me here on earth or because I am in want of money. My sole aim is to reach *Kusai*⁵⁵— which in their language is the name for Allah to whom belongs might and majesty. Then he drowns himself. When dead, he is drawn out by those present and burnt; and the ashes are thrown back into the said river.

Let us return to our original theme. We started from the city of Ajodhan; and after four days' journey we reached the city of Sarsuti (*Sarasati*). It is a big city which produces a great quantity of fine rice which is exported to the capital, Dehli. The revenues of Sarsuti are enormous. Shams-ud-din al-Fushanji, the chamberlain, told me the exact amount; but I have forgotten it.

From Sarsuti we journeyed to Hansi (*Hansi*), one of the finest and perfectly built cities which is most thickly populated. It has a huge rampart whose builder, they say, was one of the great infidel kings called Tura. Many traditions and stories are attached to his name, Kamal-ud-din Sadr-i-jahan, the chief justice (*qazi-ul-quzat*) of India and his brother Qutlugh (*qatlu*) Khan, the Sultan's tutor as well as their brothers—Nizam-ud-din and Shams-ud-din—trace their origin from this city. Shams-ud-din renounced the world, devoted his life,

54. Ibn Battuta has not translated into Arabic the Persian phrase '*riha kuni mara*'.

55. (गोसाइ) (lord of the earth) —an epithet of the Deity (Bate).

to the service of God, and took up his residence at Mecca until he died.

We then travelled from Hansi and arrived after two days at Mas'udabad which lies at a distance of ten miles from the capital, Dehli. There we stayed three days. Hansi and Mas'udabad both belong⁵⁶ to the great Malik Hoshang (*Hoshanj*) bin Malik Kamal Gurg. Gurg means wolf. Malik Hoshang will be described later.

The Sultan of India whose court we intended to visit was away in the suburbs of the city of Kanauj (*Qirawj*); and between Kanauj and the capital, Dehli, was a distance of ten days' journey. In the capital were the Sultan's mother called Makhduma-i-jahan—and *jahan* means world—and his vezir Khwaja Jahan named Ahmad bin Aiyaz (*Aiyas*), a man of Turkish origin.⁵⁷ The vezir sent his men to meet us and nominated persons of equal rank as ours to meet each of us. Of those nominated to meet me were Shaikh Bustami and Sharif Mazindrani chamberlain of the foreigners (*hajib-ul-ghuraba*), and the jurist (*faqih*) 'Ala-ud-din Multani commonly known as *Qunnara*. The vezir sent the news of our arrival to the Sultan in the form of a letter which was carried by *dawa*, the foot-post mentioned before. It reached the Sultan; and a reply from him came during the three days that we spent at Mas'udabad. After three days the *gazis*, jurists, saints (*mashaikh*) and some of the amirs came to meet us. The amirs in India are called *maliks*; that is those who in Egypt and other countries are known as amirs are called *maliks* in India. Shaikh Zahir-ud-din Zanjani, who holds a high position in the court of the Sultan, also came to meet us.

Then we set out from Mas'udabad and encamped in the vicinity of the village called Palam⁵⁸ (*Balam*), which belonged to⁵⁹ Saiyid Sharif Nasir-ud-din Mutahr-ul-auhari, one of the Sultan's confidants. He is one of those personages who enjoy great favour with him. Next day, in the morning, we reached Dehli, the imperial residence and capital of the country of India. It is a magnificent and huge city; its buildings are both beautiful and solid. The city has a rampart which is unmatched in the whole world. It is the largest of the cities of India, and even of all the cities of Islam in the east.

56. This does not mean absolute ownership and signifies only assignment by *iqta*, (*Vide*, p. 74, *infra*). *

57. See, p. 54, *infra*.

58. Palam—a small village south-west of modern Delhi.

59. See, p. 74, *infra* and footnote 1.

The Account of Francois Bernier*

Third letter Written at Lahor the King being then about to depart for Kachemire

Description of Lahor the Capital of the Panjeab or Kingdom of the Five Rivers

Monsieur

It is not without reason that the kingdom of which Lahor is the capital is named the *Penje-ab*, or the Region of the Five Waters; because five rivers do really descend from the great mountains which enclose the kingdom of Kachemire, and taking their course through this country, fall into the Indus, which empties itself into the ocean at Scymdi,¹ near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whether Lahor be the ancient *Bucefalos*, I do not pretend to determine. Alexander is here well known by the name of *Sekander Filisous*, or Alexander, the son of Philip; concerning his horse, however, they know nothing. The river on which the city was built, one of the five, is as considerable as our *Loire*, and is much in want of a similar embankment as that on which the road is carried on the banks of the French river; for it is subject to inundations, which cause great injury and frequently change its bed; indeed within a few years the river has receded a full quarter of a league from *Lahor*, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants.² Unlike the buildings of Delhi and Agra, the houses here are very lofty; but, the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two cities, most of the houses in Lahor are in a ruinous state. Indeed, many have been totally destroyed and have buried many of the inhabitants under ruins, in consequence of the heavy rains which have prevailed of late years. There are still five or six considerable streets, two or three of which exceed a league in length; but not a few of the houses in them

* *Letters written by Francois Bernier* (Third letter), from *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668* translated on the basis of Irving Birch's version and annotated by Archibald constable, 1891, revised by Vincent A. Smith, London, 1916, pp. 383-89.

1 By this Bernier means Sind, which was called Sinda by Fryer, the mouths of the Indus being situated in the Province of Sind.
2. The old bed of the Ravee is well known to all who have visited Lahore, and it has been proposed in recent years to divert the present stream into its old channel again.

are tumbling to the ground.³ The river having changed its bed, the king's palace is no longer seated on its banks.⁴ This is a high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Delhi or Agra. It is more than two months since we arrived in this city: we have waited for the melting of the snow on the mountains of Kachemire in order to obtain an easier passage into that country; our departure is finally fixed, however, for tomorrow, as the king quitted Lahor two days ago. I have provided myself with a nice small Kachemire tent, which I purchased yesterday, as I was advised to do the same as others, and to proceed no further with my old tent, which is rather large and heavy. It will be difficult, they tell me, to find room for all our tents among the mountains of Kachemire, which besides are impassable to camels; so that requiring porters for our baggage, the carriage of my old tent would be too expensive. Farewell !

Fourth letter written from the Camp of the Army marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the fourth day of the March.

Monsieur

I hoped that, as I had survived the heat of Moka near the Straits of *Bab-el-mandel*, I should have nothing to fear from the burning rays of the sun in any part of the earth; but that hope has abandoned me since the army left *Lahor* four days ago. I am indeed no longer surprised that even the Indians themselves expressed much apprehension of the misery which awaited them during the eleven or twelve days' march of the army from *Lahor* to *Bember*,⁵ which is situated at the entrance of the Kachemire mountains. I declare, without the least exaggeration, that I have been reduced by the intenseness of the heat to the last extremity; scarcely believing when I rose in the morning that I should outlive the day. This extraordinary heat is occasioned by the high mountains of Kachemire; for being to the north of our road, they intercept the cool breezes which would refresh us from the quarter, at the same time that they reflect the scorching sunbeams, and leave that whole

3. The Emperor Jahangir, Shah Jahan's predecessor frequently resided at Lahore and after his time it began to decline in population.
4. Brought about it is said, by an embankment which Aurangzeb constructed to prevent inundations, but which had the effect of so deflecting the current as the cause the river to alter its course entirely.
5. Bhimbhar, where the remains of one of the rest-houses built for the camps of the Mogul Emperors is still used by travellers.

THE ACCOUNT OF FRANCOIS BERNIER

country arid and suffocating. But why should I attempt to account philosophically for that which may kill me tomorrow?

Fifth letter written from the Camp of the Army marching from Lahore to Kachemire, the sixth day of the March.

Monsieur

I yesterday crossed one of the great rivers of India, called the *Tchenau*.⁶ Its excellent water, with which the principal *Omrahs* are providing themselves, instead of the Ganges water that has hitherto supplied their wants, induces me to hope that the ascent of this river does not lead to the internal regions, but that it may really conduct us to the kingdom of Kachemire, which they would make me believe we should be gladdened with the sight of ice and snow. Every day is found more insupportable than the preceding, and the further we advance the more does the heat increase. It is true, that I crossed the bridge of boats at broad noonday, but I am not sure that my sufferings would have been less if I had remained stifling in my tent. My object was at least attained; I passed over this bridge quietly, while everybody else was resting and waiting to cross toward the close of the day, when the heat is less oppressive. Perhaps I owe my escape from some fatal accident to my prudence and foresight, for no passage of a river, since the army quitted Dehli, has been attended with such dreadful confusion.⁷ The entrance at one extremity of the bridge into the first boat, and the going out from the last boat at the other extremity were rendered extremely difficult and dangerous on account of the loose moving sand which it was necessary to pass, and which giving way under the feet of such crowds of animals, was carried off by the current, and left considerable cavities, into which numbers of camels, oxen, and horses were thrown down, and trodden underfoot, while blows were dealt about without intermission. There are generally upon these occasions officers and troopers attached to *Omrahs*, who to clear the way for their masters and their baggage make an active use of their canes. My *navaah* has lost one of his camels, with the iron oven it carried;⁸ so that I fear I shall be reduced to the necessity of eating the *bazar* bread. Farewell!

6. The Chinab is nearly 72 miles from Lahore by Bernier's route. He had, therefore, marched at the rate of about 12 miles a day.

7. This is the largest river they had yet crossed, and the sandy approaches to the main stream were always, until a few years ago when the combined railway and road bridge was built, very tedious for travellers, whether mounted or on foot.

8. Probably one of those portable ovens, made of sheet-iron, so familiar to Anglo-Indians, called a *tandur* in Hindostanee.

Sixth letter written from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the eighth day of the March.

Monsieur

Alas, my dear Sir ! what can induce an European to expose himself to such terrible heat, and to these harassing and perilous marches ? It is too much curiosity ; or rather it is gross folly and inconsiderate rashness. My life is placed in continual jeopardy. Out of evil, however, may arise some good. When at Lahor I was seized with a flux, accompanied by acute pains in my limbs, in consequence of having passed whole nights on a terrace in the open air, as is commonly done in Dehli without danger. My health was suffering; but since we have been on the march; the violent perspirations, continued for eight or nine days, have dissipated my bad humours, and my parched and withered body has become a mere sieve, the quart of water, which I swallow at a draught, passing at the same moment through every one of my pores, even to my fingers' ends. I am sure that to-day I have drunk more than ten pints. Amid all our sufferings, it is a great consolation to be able to drink as much water as we please with impunity, provided it be of a good quality.

Seventh letter written from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, on the morning of the tenth day of the March.

Monsieur

The sun is just but rising, yet the heat is insupportable. There is not a cloud to be seen nor a breath of air to be felt. My horses are exhausted; they have not seen a blade of green grass since we quitted Lahor. My Indian servants, notwithstanding their black, dry, and hard skin, are incapable of further exertion. The whole of my face, my feet, and my hands are flayed. My body too is entirely covered with small red blisters, which prick like needles.⁹ Yesterday one of our rear troopers, who was without a tent, was found dead at the foot of a tree, whither he had crept for shelter. I feel as if I should myself expire before night. All my hopes are in four or five limes still remaining for lemonade, and in a little dry curd which I am about to

9. Prickly heat, so familiar to most Anglo-Indian.

THE ACCOUNT OF FRANCOIS BERNIER

drink diluted with water and with sugar.¹⁰ Heaven bless you the ink dries at the end of my pen, and the pen itself drops from my hand.

10. *Dahi* the curdled milk so well known to all Anglo-Indian's somewhat resembling the *dicke milck* (thickened milk) of Northern Germany. Ovington, at p. 310 of a *Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, London, 1696, describes it very correctly as follows :

Dye is a particular innocent kind of Diet, fed upon by the *Indians* for the most part about noon. It is sweet milk turn'd thick, mix'd with boil'd rice and sugar, and is very effectual against the rage of Fever and of Fluxes, the prevailing Distempers of *India*. Early in the morning, or late at night, they seldom touch it, because they esteem it too cool for their stomachs and nocturnal delights.'

Guru Arjun's Martyrdom (From Father Jerome Xavier's letter, September 25, 1606)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

There is only one solitary reference to the Sikh Gurus known to exist in the records of the contemporary European writers, and that is about Guru Arjun's death.* It is to be found in a Portuguese letter written from Lahore on September 25, 1606, by the well-known Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier to the Provincial at Goa. The substance of it is reproduced by Father Fernao Gurreiro, S. J., in his *Relacao Annual das Coisas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental*, printed at Lisbon in Portugal in 1609 (New edition, 3 Vols, Coimbra-Lisbon, 1930-42).

While describing the flight of the rebellious prince Khusru, son of Emperor Jahangir, from Agra to the Panjab, Fr. Xavier mentioned towards the end of his letter the arrest and death of Guru Arjan. An English translation of the relevant portion of the letter is given by Mr. John A. D'Silva in his article *The Rebellion of Prince Khusro according to Jesuit sources*, published in the *Journal of Indian History*, volume V, 1927, p. 278; also in C.H. Payne's *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (The Broadway Travellers Series), pp. 11-12.

Fr. Xavier's account appears to be based on second-hand information regarding the details of tortures to which Guru Arjan was subjected. There is no indication in the letter that Fr. Xavier knew the Guru personally or that he had seen him during his imprisonment at Lahore or that he was an eye-witness of what he has recorded in his letter. My only apology for reproducing the relevant portion of the

* An European surgeon, an Englishman, is said to have attended Guru Gobind Singh during his last days at Nander in the Deccan. When Emperor Bahadur Shah, then (September-October, 1708) encamped at Nander, heard the Guru having been stabbed by a Pathan, he sent a surgeon to attend to his wound. Dhian Singh in his (manuscript) *Daswen Patshah ka Antam Kautak* tells us that (*Das mohran roz Sahib dewain jarahdar kau; Kal usih da nam, Angez si*) he was an Englishman, Call by name, and that the Guru paid him ten gold mohars a day. But to the best of our knowledge, no record of him has so far been discovered, nor has any other reference to him been traced in the Mughal or English Fractory records.

GURU ARJUN'S MARTYRDOM

letter is that it is the earliest account written by a contemporary European and that when read along with the Emperor Jahangir's own account of the motives behind the persecution and death of Guru Arjun, as given in the Emperor's autobiography, the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, together with present editor's notes, it would help students of history to arrive at conclusions not far from truth.

According to the Emperor's memoirs, Guru Arjun's teachings had so captivated the hearts of many Hindus and Muslims that they called him Guru (became his disciples) and expressed full faith in him. The Emperor did not like this. It is true that he was not a religious bigot, but, for political reasons, he had in the beginning of his reign to play the role of a fanatic to win the sympathies of the bigoted Muslim divines, the *mullahs* who were opposed to the broad and open-minded religious policy of his father, Akbar the Great. He had, therefore, evidently to exhibit his zeal for Islam as interpreted and practised by the law-givers, promised to uphold Islam, when he came to the throne, and suppress all those who preached un-Islamic or non-Islamic creeds. Against Sikhism, the Emperor was deeply prejudiced. There is no doubt about it. And it was this religious prejudice that was mainly responsible for the persecution and death of Guru Arjun. The visit of the rebellious prince Khusru to the Guru's headquarters at Goindwal during his flight to the Panjab only afforded an opportunity for his arrest. The Emperor writes in the *Tuzk* :

"In Goindwal, which is situated on the Bank of the river Biyah (Beas), there lived a Hindu, named Arjun, in the garb of *Pir* and *Shaikh*, so much so that having captivated many simple-hearted Hindus, nay even foolish and stupid Muslims, by his ways and manners, he had noised himself about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him *Guru*, and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers were attracted towards him and expressed full faith in him. For three or four generations they had kept this shop warm. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that either I should put an end to this false traffic or he should be brought into the fold of Islam.

"At last when Khusrau passed along this road, this insignificant fellow made up his mind to wait upon him. Khusrau happened to halt at the place where he was. He (Guru Arjun) came and saw him, and conveyed some preconceived things to him and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which the Hindus in their terminology call *qashqa* (*tika*) and is considered propitious. When this came to the ears

of our majesty, and I fully knew his heresies, I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, and having handed over his houses, dwelling places and children to Murtaza Khan, and having confiscated his property, I ordered that he should be put to death with tortures.

"There were two other persons, Rajoo and Amba by name. They led a life of tyranny and oppression under the shadow of Daulat Khan *Khawaja-sera*'s protection. During the few days when Khusrau was near Lahore, they committed depredations. I ordered that Rajoo be hanged and that a fine be levied on Amba because he was known to be a rich man. One lakh and fifteen thousand rupees were received from him. This amount I ordered to be spent upon artillery and for charitable purposes."

From the above it is clear that long before the rebellion of his son, Emperor Jahangir had been incensed against Guru Arjun on account of his *increasing religious influence* amongst the Hindus and Muslims. And, therefore, he was *for years* (*muddat-ha*, for a long time) thinking of either putting an end to his religious preachings, which he contemptuously calls 'false traffic' (*dukan-i-batal*), or making a Mussalman of him. It is of great historical significance to note that no report was made to the Emperor of the visit of Khusru to Guru Arjun on the spot at Goindwal, when the Emperor crossed the river at its ferry, nor did anything on the subject 'come to his ears' for about a month after his departure from Goindwal, during which period the prince had been arrested and made prisoner and a large number of his followers had been impaled, and both of his accomplices Hasan Beg and Abdur Rahim had been inclosed and sewed up in the raw hides of a cow and a donkey. It was only *on the eve of the Emperor's departure* from Lahore that the report of the alleged complicity of Guru Arjun in the rebellion was made to the Emperor. This throws a doubt on the truth of the report. If Khusrau had actually met the Guru and had been blessed by him, it would certainly have been reported to the Emperor on the spot at Goindwal or in its neighbourhood where it could have been easily verified, and the Guru would have been carried a prisoner to Lahore with him.

The author of the *Mehma Parkash* tells us that the Guru was then at Tarn Taran and not at Goindwal. Khusrau could not have, therefore, met him. No wonder that the whole story might have been an imaginary concoction by the Guru's traducers with a view to entangling him in the rebellion which had brought such severe punishments on Khusrau

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and his friends and companions. Jahangir, apparently, found in this concocted report a long-looked-for opportunity for putting an end to the 'false traffic,' that is, the religious activities of Guru Arjun, and, without any investigation whatever, he ordered him to be tortured to death.

Muhsin Fani, the author of the *Dabistan-i-mazahib* says that a heavy fine was imposed on the Guru who was unable to pay it. He was, therefore, imprisoned at Lahore where he died from the heat of the sun' the severity of the summer and the tortures of the bailiffs. But Jahangir makes no mention of any fine imposed on the Guru. He only mentions the death sentence passed against him. Apparently the fine of two lakhs of rupees demanded from Amba gave currency to the wrongful impression amongst the people who were Muhsin Fani's sources of information. Might be, that the non-payment of the so-called fine by Guru had been advertised by his enemies to explain away the cause of his death.

The exact date of Guru Arjun's death is Jesht *Sudi* 4, 1663 BK., Asharh 2, 1663 BK., Safar 2, 1015 Al-Hijri, corresponding to May 30, 1606 A.D.

It is in the light of Emperor Jahangir's own account and the discussion thereon that the letter of Father Jerome Xavier should be read.

Ganda Singh

Extract from Fr. Jerome Xavier's letter dated Lahore, September 25, 1606, translated by John A. D'Silva

When the prince (Khusro, son of Emperor Jahangir) was fleeing from Agra on that road¹ there was a pagan,² called the *guru*, who was considered among the pagans like our Pope. He was supposed to be a holy man and honoured as such. And on account of his dignity and reputation, the prince visited him desirous of hearing a good prophecy from him. The Guru congratulated him for assuming sovereignty³ and

1. At Gonindwal, on the bank of the river Beas, in the present district of Amritsar, Panjab.
2. Guru Arjun, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs.
3. This is apparently based on hearsay, as Fr. Xavier never saw or met the Guru either at Goindwal or at Lahore.

That the Guru congratulated Khusrau for assuming sovereignty is not borne out by any other authority.

(Contd. on page 42)

applied three marks on his forehead.⁴ Although the Guru was a heathen, and the prince a Mussalman, yet he was glad in putting on the prince's forehead that pagan sign as a mark of good success in his enterprise, taking the prince as the son of a pagan mother.⁵ The prince received this sign on account of the wide reputation of the sanctity of the *guru*. The King came to know of this. Keeping the prince as a prisoner, he ordered the Guru to be brought before him and imprisoned him also.

Some pagans begged the King to release him, as he was their saint. At last it was settled that he should pay a fine of 1,00,000 cruzados.⁶ This was done at the request of a rich pagan⁷ who remained as a surety

Contd. from page 41)

According to Macauliffe (*Sikh Religion*, iii, p. 85), Khusrav visited the Guru at Tarn Tarn and the latter 'gave him five thousand rupees to defay his expenses to Kabul.' On being questioned by the Emperor on this point, the Guru is said to have replied : 'I regard all people, whether Hindu or Musalman, rich or poor friend or foe, without love or hate; and it is on this account that I gave thy son some money for his journey and not because he was in opposition to thee. If I had not assisted him in his forlorn condition, and so shown some regard for the kindness of thy father, Emperor Akbar, to myself, all men would have despised me for my heartlessness and ingratitude, or they would say that I was afraid of thee. This would have been unworthy of a follower of Guru Nanak the world's Guru.' (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 91.)

4. This again is incorrect and based on wrong information. The Sikh Gurus never applied marks on the forehead of any one except of those whom they nominated as their successors.
5. Khusrav's mother, Man Bai, was the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber (Jaipur). (Tod, *Annals*, ii, p. 286.)
6. As stated in the *Introductory Note*, there is no mention in Jahangir's *Tuzk* of any fine having been imposed by him on Guru Arjun. The fine was, in fact, imposed on one Amba from whom Rs. 1,15,000 were received and ordered to be spent on artillery and for charity.
7. Who this rich 'pagan' was is not known to history. Sikh histories mention the name of one Chandu of Lahore having been responsible for the tortures inflicted upon the Guru. Whether he was the surety-giver mentioned by Fr. Xavier is not certain. This man, according to the *Pardre's* letter, wanted to escape after the Guru's death, 'but was made a prisoner and killed.' This must have happened immediately after the Guru's death or within four months, at any rate before September 25, 1606, the date of Fr. Xavier's letter. Chandu, however, is said to have met almost a similar fate, but after the release of Guru Hargobind, son of Guru Arjun, from the fort of Gwalior where he was kept as a prisoner for at least twelve months. According to Muhsin Fani's *Dabistani-i-Mazahib* Guru Hargobind remained there for twelve years. This is, however, incorrect. The exact period has yet to be determined.

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for him. He thought that the King might remit the fine or the saint might pay, or that he might borrow that amount, but in this affair the rich man was disappointed. He brought what 'his Pope' had in his house, including the household furniture, also the clothes of his wife and children, and finding that all he had was not enough to cover up the fine, since the pagans have no respect to their Pope or their father, besides depriving him of all his money, he tormented the saint with new insults every day. The poor saint even received kicks on his face on many occasions and was prevented from eating till he had paid more money.

The rich man did not believe that he had no money, though he had absolutely nothing and no one was even willing to give him. Thus having suffered so many injuries, pains and insults, given by the same that were adoring him, the poor Guru died.

The surety-giver wanted to escape but was made a prisoner and killed after all his possessions had been confiscated.

Massacre of the Sikhs at Delhi in 1716

John Surman and Edward Stephenson

INTRODUCTROY NOTE

The paragraph which refers to the arrest and massacre of the Sikhs at Delhi in 1716 is extracted from a letter dated Delhi, March 10, 1716 written by Messrs. John Surman and Edward Stephenson to the Hon'ble Robert Hedges, President and Governor of Fort William, etc., Council in Bengal. These gentlemen and their Secretary, Hugh Barker, were then present in the Mughal capital as ambassadors of the East India Company's Council in Bengal to the Court of Emperor Farrukh-Siyar. Under instructions of their principals, the ambassadors maintained a regular Diary of the events and transactions at the royal court, and wrote to Calcutta to keep the headquarters informed of the political and other developments there. This letter of March 10, 1716, was read at a consultation at Fort St. George on Tuesday, 5th June, 1716, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No. 87, Range 237, in the India Office (now Commonwealth Relations Office), London. It is also reproduced in C.R. Wilson's *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, volume II, part II (Calcutta, 1911), pp 96-98, and in J.T. Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, p. 180.

The Chief of the Sikhs, Banda Singh, referred to in the letter as 'the great rebel Gooroo,' was originally an ascetic *sadhu* of the *bairagi* order. He was initiated into the Sikh order of the *Khalsa* in September 1708 by Guru Gobind Singh at Nader in the Deccan where he had gone in connection with the negotiations that had been going on with Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-12) since July 1707. There the Guru was stabbed by a Pathan from Sirhind in the last week of September 1708, and he died of his wound on October 6-7. The line of the Sikh Gurus that had begun with Guru Nanak (1469-1539), the founder of Sikh religion, came to an end with the tenth and the last Guru-Gobind Singh who bequeathed spiritual heritage of Sikhism to the Sikh holy book, *Guru Granth Sahib*, and the temporal leadership of the Sikhs to the general body of the *Khalsa*.

Before the death of the Guru, however, Banda Singh, with the renewed zeal and vigour of a new convert, had left for the Panjab, not as Guru of the Sikhs but as commander of the forces of the *Khalsa*.

MASSACRE OF THE SIKHS AT DELHI IN 1716

Here the Sikhs gathered round him in large numbers and in the summer of 1710 he was soon able to carve out a small Sikh kingdom which, later, paved the way for the freedom of the country from under the Mughal yoke. But the Mughal empire was too strong for the infant power of the Sikhs under Banda Singh. He was captured in December 1715, during the reign of Emperor Farrukh-Siyar, under whose orders he was carried to Delhi as a prisoner along with 694 other Sikhs. Here they were all, with exception of Banda Singh and a few chosen leaders, executed in the *maidan* opposite the Chandni Chowk *Kotwali* at the rate of a hundred a day beginning on March 5, 1716. The turn of Banda Singh himself and his associates came three months later on June 9, when he was taken out to the Qutb Minar and torn to pieces near the tomb of Emperor Bahadur Shah.

C.R. Wilson, the author of the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* has given in the volume II, Part II, pp. xlii-xliii, the following description of the entry of Banda Singh and his fellow captives into Delhi on February 27, 1716 based on the articles of William Irwine on the *Political History of the Sikhs (Asiatic Quarterly, January 1884, pp. 420-31)* and *Guru Gobind Singh and Bandah (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1894, Part I, pp. 112-43)*. He says :

The ceremonial on this occasion was copied from that observed after the capture of the Maratha Sambhaji. Malice did its utmost to cover the vanquished with ridicule and shame. First came the heads of the executed Sikhs, stuffed with straw, and struck on bamboos, their long hair streaming in the wind like a veil, and along with them to show that every living creature in Gurdaspore had perished, a dead cat on a pole.

The teacher himself, dressed out of mockery in a turban of red cloth, embroidered with gold, and a heavy robe of brocade, flowered with pomegranates, sat in an iron cage, placed on the back of an elephant. Behind him stood a mail-clad officer, with a drawn sword. After him came the other prisoners, seven hundred and forty in number, seated two and two upon camels without saddles. Each wore a high fool's cap of sheepskin and had one hand pinned to his neck, between two pieces of wood. Many were also dressed in sheep skin with wooly side turned outwards. At the end of the procession rode three great nobles, Muhammad Amin Khan, sent by the emperor to bring in the prisoners, (from Agharabad to the Lahori gate of the palace) Kamr-ud-Din, his son, and Zakariya Khan, his son-in law, who being also the son of

Abd-us-Samad Khan had been deputed to represent his father at the ceremony. The road to the palace for several miles, was lined with troops and filled with exultant crowds, who mocked at the teacher and laughed at the grotesque appearance of his followers. They wagged their heads and pointed the finger of scorn at the poor wretched as they passed. 'Hu ! Hu !, infidel dog-worshippers, your day has come. Truly retribution follows on transgression, as wheat springs from wheat and barley from barley.' Yet the triumph could not have seemed complete. Not all the insults that their enemies had invented could rob the teachers and his followers of their dignity. Without any sign of dejection or shame, they rode on, calm, cheerful, even anxious to die the death of martyrs.

Life was promised to any who would renounce their faith, but they would not prove false to their Guru, and at the place of suffering their constancy was wonderful to look at. 'Me, deliverer, kill me first,' was the prayer which constantly rang in the ears of the executioner. One there was a young man, an only son, whose widow mother had made many applications to the Mughal officers, declaring that her son was a Sikh prisoner, and no follower of the Guru. A release was granted and she hastened to the prison-house to claim her son. But the boy turned from her to meet his doom crying, 'I know not this woman. What does she want with me ? I am a true and loyal follower of the Guru. For a whole week the sword of the executioner did its butcher's work. Every day a hundred brave men perished and at night the headless bodies were loaded into carts, taken out of the city, and hung upon trees. It was not till June 19 (Sunday, the 29th Jamadi-ul-Aakhir, 1128 A.H., June 9, 1716 O.S.) that Banda himself was led out to execution, all efforts having failed to buy him off. They dressed him, as on the day of his entry, set him again on an elephant, and took him away to the old city, where the red Qutb Minar lifts its proud head of white marble over the crumbling walls of the Hindu fortress. Here they parad him round the tomb of the late emperor, Bahadur Shah, and put him to a barbarous death. First they made him dismount, placed his child in his arms and bade him kill it. Then, as he shrank with horror from the act, they ripped open the child before its father's eyes, thrust its quivering flesh into his mouth and hacked him to pieces limb by limb.

The authors of the despatch John Surman and Edward Stephenson (and their Secretary, Hugh Barker) were, evidently, eyewitness of the dreadful massacre of the Sikhs at Delhi in March recorded by them. The executions began on March 5, five days before the date of the despatch

MASSACRE OF THE SIKHS AT DELHI IN 1716

March 10, when a few hundred Sikhs had yet to be executed. This paragraph of the despatch, therefore, is of great historical value to the students and scholars of history. The last sentence regarding the unflinching devotion of the Sikhs to their faith under the severest of trials is very significant.

Except for the number of the Sikh prisoners, which Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan gives as 694 in his *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, the despatch of the English ambassadors is in full agreement with the writings of the other eye-witnesses and contemporaries. The reader interested in further study of the exploits and achievements of Banda Singh is referred to *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur* published in 1935, and the bibliography appended to it.

GANDA SINGH—

LETTER XII

The Honourable Robert Hedges Esq.,
President & Governor of Fort William & Council in Bengal.
Honourable Sirs, etc.,

We wrote your Honour on the 7th ultimo since which we have received no letters.

...

The great Rebel Gooroo (Banda Singh) who has been for these 20 years so trouble some in the Subaship (*suba*) of Lahore is at length taken with all his family and attendance by Abd-us-Samad Cawn the Suba (*Subedar*, i. e., Governor) of that province. Some days ago they entered the city laden with letters, his whole attendants which were left alive being about seven hundred and eighty all severally mounted on camels which were sent out of the city for that purpose, besides about two thousand heads stuck upon poles, being those who died by the sword in battle. He was carried into the presence of the King, and from thence to a close prison. He at present has his life prolonged with most of his *mutsuddys* in the hope to get an Account of his treasure in the several parts of his Kingdom, and of those that assisted him, when afterwards he will be executed, for the rest there are 100 each day beheaded. It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one apostatised from his new formed Religion.

...

We are,

Dilly,
March the 10th, 1716.

Honourable Sir & Sirs,
Your most obedient humble servants,
John Surman,
Edward Stephenson

Cojee Seerhaud assenting,
Hugh Barker, Secretary.

The Account of William Forster*

January the ninth, I departed from Agra for Lahore to recover debts, and carried twelve carts laden with *nil* (indigo) in hope of a good price. The places I passed were Rownocta (Rankata), twelve courses : Badeg Sara,¹ 10 : Acabarpore (Akbarpur), 12 c., formerly a great city, still famous for the antiquities of Indian gobins² or saints. A little short of this place is a faire deury (*deura*, temple) inclosed with a stone wall, in which is a devoncan, and round about a little distance in vaults (or cloisters) are to be seen many pagods which are stone images of monstrous men fearful to behold, but adored by the Indians with flowers and offerings. Houdle (Hodal), 13c.; at the entrance of the saray (inn) is a faire fountaine (i.e. well), three storeys and one hundred steps. Pulwooll (Palwal), 12 c. Ferreedabade (Faridabad) 12 c. Dely, 10 c. On the left hand is seene the carkasse of old Dely,³ called the nine castle and fiftie (fifty) two gates, now inhabited only by Googers. A little short is a stone bridge of eleven arches,⁴ over a branch of Gemini (the Jumna); from hence a broad way shaded with great trees leading to the sepulchre of Hamaron

* Extract from *Early Travels in India, 1617-1619*, William Forster (ed.), Humphery Milford University Press, 1921, pp. 155-181.

1. Bad-ki-sarai. It is suggested in Growse's *Mathura* (p. 28) that the *sarai* intended is the one at Jamalpur, about three *kos* from Bad.
2. 'Gosains' is probably intended.
3. Tughlakabad, which according to tradition had fifty-two gates (Carr Stephen's *Archaeology of Delhi*, p. 91). The following marginal note is appended to the passage in the *text* : 'There are said to bee foure Delyes within 5 c.; the eldest built by Rase (i.e. Raja Anang Pal), who by his ponde (*pundit*) or magicians counsell tried the earth by an iron stake, which he pulled out bloody with the blood of a snake, which his ponde said was signe of good fortune. (This is a well-known story relating to the iron pillar near the Kutb Minar (*op. cit.*, p. 17). The last of his race was Rase Pethory (Rai Pithora or Prithwi Raj), who, after seven times taking a Potan king, was a last by him taken and slain. He began the Potan kingdome. They came from the mountaines between Candahar and Catull (Kabul). The second built by Togall Sha (Tughlak Shah), a Potan king. The third little of note. The fourth by Shershasselim (Sher Shah), where is that tomb of 'Hamaron' (Humayun). The last named was the Delhi on Finch's day. It lay to the south of the modern city, and occupied part of the site of Firozabad.
4. The Bara Pala bridge, near the shrine of Nizammuddin.

(Hamayun), this king's grandfather, in a large roome spread with rich carpets, the tombe itself covered with a pure white sheet, a rich semiane over head, and a front certain bookes on small tressels, by which stand his sword, tucke (turban) and shooes.⁵ At the entrance are other tombes of his wives and daughters. Beyond this, under like shaded way, you come to the kings house and moboll, now ruinous. The city is 2 c. betweene gate and gate, begirt with strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses. Within and about this citie are the tombes of twenty Potan kings, all very faire and stately. The kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held usurpers. It is seated in a goodly plaine, environed with goodly pleasant gardens and monuments.

Nalera (Narela) is hencce 14 c. about 2 c. without Dely is the remainder of an ancient mole (*mahal*) or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa,⁶ a great Indian monarch, with much curiositie of stone-worke. With and above the rest is to be seen a stone pillar,⁷ which passing through three storeys, is higher than all twenty foure foot, having at the top a globe and a halfe moone over it. This stone, they say, stands as much under the earth, and is placed in the water, being all one entire stone; some say Naserdengady⁸, a Potan king, would have taken it up and was prohibited by multitude of scorpions, and that it hath inscriptions. In divers parts of India the like are to be seene, and of late was found buried in the ground about Fettipore a stone pillar of an hundred cubits length, which the King commanded to bring to Agra, but was broken in the way, to his great griefe.⁹ It is remarkeable that the quarries of India, specially neare Fettipore (whence they are carryed farre) are of such nature that they may be cleft like logges and sawne like plancks to seele chambers and cover houses of a great length and breadth. From this monument is said

5. Cf. Peter Mundy's description (*Travels*, Vol. ii, pp. 100, 181) of the tomb of Prince Khusrau.
6. Sultan Firoz Shah who laid out a hunting park on the Ridge and built therein a palace. The pillar referred to by Finch is the Asoka *lat* brought by Firoz Shah from Meerut and erected on the same spot, where it still stands. The earliest European account of it seems to be that given by Monserrate. Some writers have supposed that Finch meant to describe the other Asoka pillar at Delhi—that in the Kotila of Firozabad, but this is evidently wrong.
7. 'A stately obeliske with Greeke or Hebrew inscriptions (as some affirme) supposed to be set there by Alexander' (*marginal note, probably by Purchas, based on Coryat*).
8. Sir Edward Maclagan thinks this Nasiruddin Ghazi may have been Nasiruddin Tughlak, son of Firoz Shah.
9. Nothing seems to be known concerning this pillar.

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to bee a way under ground to Dely castle.¹⁰ Now here remaine onely Googers, and there are store of deere. We saw in the way the ruines of divers places (palaces ?), and neere the same the ruines of a wall 20 c. in circuit, being a parke for game. Some part of this way was theevish, and, some report being given out of the kings death, many rogues with the false alarme were abroad. We met the Fosder (*faujdar*, military commandant) of Dely with some two thousand horse and foot in their pursuit, who burnt their townes and tooke them and theirs, whatsoever he could get; and the next day at breakfast we were like to be surprized by theevess.

Gonowre (Ganaur), 14 c. Panneput (Panipat), 14 c.; at the entry whereof was placed a manora¹¹ with the heads of some hundred theevess newly taken, their bodies set on stakes a mile in length. Carmall (Karnal), 14 c.; the way theevish, where but for our peace language we had been assaulted. On the north-west extend mountaines neere to Lahor from hence, with snow on the tops. Tanassar (Thanesar), 14 c.; here is a castle, a goodly tanke, and by it pagods, much reverenced by all the Gentiles throughout India. Neere it also are the salarmoniake pits. Shabad (Shahabad) or Goobade, 10 c. Amballa (Ambala), 12 c., Hollowa Saray (Aluwa sarai), 14 c., Syrinam (Sirhind), 7 c.; it hath a faire tanke with a summer-house in the middest, to which leans a bridge of fifteene stone arches, very pleasant. From hence is a small river cut to the kings garden,¹² a corse distant, with a cawsey of forty foot broad, planted with trees on both sides to it. The garden is foure square, each square a *cose* in length or better inclosed with a bricke-wall, richly planted with all sorts of fruits and flowers, rented yeerely (as I was told) for fifty thousand rupias (rupees); crossed with two maine walkes, forty foot broad and eight high, with water running amongst stone channells in the middest, and planted on both sides thicke with faire cypresses; one of these cawseys is also paved with peble, curiously inter-wrought. At the crossing stands an eight square mohol (mahal) with eight chambers for women, in the midst there of a faire tank; over these, eight other roomes, with faire galleries round about; on the top of all a faire jounter;¹³ the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich carving,

10. For references to this and other subterranean passages see Monserrate (p. 590), Jarrett's *Ain* (Vol. ii, p. 279), and Father Hosten's articles in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1911 (p. 102) and 1912 (p. 279).

11. *Minar*, or pillar. For the practice of cementing the heads of criminals or rebels in pillars erected for the purpose, see Mundy, pp. 72, 90, &c.

12. 'Some say it was made An. Dom. 1580' (*marginal note*).

13. 'Jounter' or 'chounter' is the Hind. *chautri* or *chabutara* a terrace for recreation.

and pargetting; and on two sides two faire tankes in the midst of a faire stone counter, planted round with Cypresse trees; a little distant is another mohol, but not so curious.

From hence we passed to Dorapy (Doraha), 15 c., Pulloceoue Saray (Phillaur-ki-sarai), 13 c., Nicoder (Nakodar), 12 c., Sultanpoore (Sultanpur), 11 c., Fetipore,¹⁴ 7 c.; a saray built (if it were finished) by Sha Selim in memorial of the overthrow given Sultan Cusseroom (Khusrau), his eldest sonne, the occasion whereof was this.¹⁵ Sha Selim, upon some disgust, tooke armes in his father's lifetime and fled into Purrop, where he kept the strong castle of Alobasse (Allahabad) (but came in some three moneths before his father's deceasse); whereupon Acubar (Akbar) gave the crowne to Sultan Cusseroom his sonne. But after Acabar's death, Selim, by his friends, seized on the castle and treasure, and his sonne fled for Lahor, where he gathered some twelve thousand horse, all good souldiours and Mogols, possessing the suburbs twelve daies, and proclaimed king in the kasse,¹⁶ and his father in the castle. In this place he gave battell to Strek Fereed (Shaikh Farid), and disordered his three hundred horse and put them to the sword. To the second (i.e. assistance) of him came Melec Ale Cutwall (Khwaja Malik Ali, the *kotwal*) (the King being some 20 c. behind) with some two hundred horse, beating up the kings drummes, and giving a brave assault, shouting God save King Selim; upon which the Princes souldiours fainted and fled, the Prince himselfe fleeing only with five horse, and got 30 c. beyond Lahor for Cabull; which if he had gotten, he would have put his father to further trouble; but beeing to passe a river where hee gave mohors of gold, the boate-man grew in distrust, and in the middest of the channell leapt overboord and swamme to the shoare, where hee gave notice to the govenour of the towne adjoyning, who presently with fiftie horse came down to the river, where the boat was still floting, imbarqued himselfe in another and saluted him by the name of king, dissemlingly offering his aide and inviting him to his house; which the Prince accepting, was locked up with his company and guarded till hee had sent the King word; who sent Germaunabeg¹⁷ to fetch him fettered on an elephant. From

14. Vairowal, on the Beas, named Fatehpur (town of victory) in memory of Khusrau's defeat.

15. See Hawkins's account (p. 107).

16. Perhaps he means the *am-khas*, a term sometimes used for the *diwan-i-am*. The city and the castle would have separate governors, and it would seem that one declared for Jahangir and the other for Khusrau.

17. Zamana Beg, i.e. Mahabat Khan. For other accounts of Khusrau's capture see the *Tuzuk* (Vol. i, p. 66), the *Ain* (Vol. i, pp. 414), and Du Jarric (Vol. iii, p. 141).

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hence his father proceeded to Cabul, punishing such as he founde tardie in this revolt; carrying his sonne with him prisoner; and returning by this place where the battell was fought (as some say) caused his eyes to be burned out with a glasse; others say onely blind-folded him with a napkin, tying it behind and sealing it with his owne seale, which yet remaineth, and himself prisoner in the castle Agra.¹⁸ All alongst on both sides the way from Cabul to Agra, a reasonable distance, the King caused trees to be planted to shade the way in remembrance of this exploit, and called this place Fetipore, that is, *Heats content*, as ye before heard of the citie, which for his birth was named so by his father Accubar; these, as any decay, must be the peoples toyle be supplied.

From hence to Hoghe Moheede,¹⁹ 10 c., Cancanna saray. 12 c., Lahor, 7 c.; where I arrived February the fourth. On the twentie-eighth arrived here a Persian embassadour²⁰ allied to Sha Abash,

18. That Khusrau was blinded by his father was evidently very generally believed at the time (see *supra*, p. 108, and Du Jarric, Vol. iii, p. 169). The question is discussed by Mr. Beveridge in a note on p. 174 of Vol. i of the *Tuzuk* and in an article in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 39 (p. 597). He inclines to accept the story, mainly because the impostor who afterward personated the Prince pretended that he had marks of the blinding. This, however, was a very natural artifice, given the prevailing impression; and against such an argument may be set the fact that Sir Thomas Roe, who both saw and talked with the Prince in 1617, makes no mention of any injury to his sight, and moreover speaks of him as destined to succeed to the throne—an event hardly to be contemplated in the case of a blind man. Terry, who also saw Khusrau more than once, says explicitly that 'his eyes were sealed up (by something put before them which might not be taken off) for the space of three years; after which time that seal was taken away'; and this agrees with one of the rumours noted by Finch. Della Valle's version is that the eyes were sewn up for a time, without injuring the sight. The story given in Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. vi (p. 448), that the Prince was deprived of his sight by having a wire trust into his eyes, but that his vision was afterwards restored by the skill of a surgeon, is not only improbable in itself but is obviously in attempt to reconcile the current belief in the blinding with the fact that Khusrau could see quite well in later years. Muddy, it may be noted, has a tale (p. 104) that one eye was 'eaten out with applyeinge to it a certaine venomous hearbe' but fixes the date of this as a little before the Prince's murder in 1622.
19. The position given seems to answer to Tarn Taran; but Finch's distances are not to be trusted. Khankhanan-sarai has not been identified.
20. Yadgar Ali Sultan. For this embassy, see the *Tuzuk*, Vol. i, pp. 193, 237, &c. A letter from Persia of June 1609, refers to the defeat of 'Jouile, the great Geloly' (*Cal. State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, No. 46), but who he was is not evident, unless he is to be identified with the Turkish general Jaghal-aghi mentioned by Malcolm (*History of Persia*, Vol. i, p. 538). In that case, however, Malcolm's dates must be wrong.

with a great carayan accompanying him. I by them learned that the way to Candahar was now cleare, the warres being ended which the Turkish Gelole²¹ had caused, who the former yeare had fled to the Persian with some ten thousand Turkes and had obtained some jaggere (*jagir*, an assignment of land) neere thereto: whereof he purposing to make himselfe king, was overthowne, and being sent for by the Persian rufused to come; till, deluded by promise of a marriage he was got to the court, and there lost his head. We heard also of the Persians taking from the Turk the strong castle of Curdes after a yeeses siege, with other Asain and European newes.

Lahor is one of the greatest cities of the East, containing some 24 c. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the kings command now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the Potans it was but a village, Multan then flourishing, till Hamawn (Humayun) enlarged this. The towne and suburb is some 6 c. thorow. The castle or towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, nine by land and three openings to the river; the streets fair and well paved; the inhabitants most Baneans and handicrafts men, all white men of note lying in the suburbs. The buildings are faire and high, with bricke and much curiositie of carved windowes and doores; most of the Gentiles doores of sixe or seven steps ascent and very troublesome to get up, so built for more securitie and that passengers should not see into their houses. The castle is seated on Ravee, a goodly river which falleth into Indus, downe which go many boats, of sixtie tunne or upwards, for Tatta (Thata) in Sind, after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie dayes alongst by Multan, Seotpore,²¹ Buchur (Bukkur), Rauree (Rohri) etc.

This river commeth from the east and runneth wasterly by the north side of the citie; upon which, within the castle is the Kings house,²² passing in at the middle gate to the riverward. Within the citie on the left-hand you enter thorow (through) a strong gate, and a musket shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with atescanna²³ for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keepes his darbar, and round about which court are atescanna's also for greatmen to

21. Sippur, an ancient town on the Indus, in the Muzaffargarh district.

22. The palace was altered and enlarged by Shah Jahan, and in later times suffered much at the hands of the Sikhs and the British. See the *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1902-1903 and an article by Dr Vogel in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. i, No. 1.

23. *Yatish-khana*, a guard-room (see Monserrate, p. 645).

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watch in. In the middest there stands a high pole to hang a light on. From hence you go up to a faire devoncan, with two or three other retiring rooms wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven. On the walles is the Kings picture, sittting crosselegged on a chaire of state; on his right hand Sultan Pervese, Sultan Caroone, and Sultan Timoret²⁴ his sonnes; next these Sha Mör (Shah Murad) and Don Sha (Daniyal Shah), two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken were sonnes of this later): next them Emersee Sheriff (Mirza Sharif), eldest brother to Caun Asom (of whom it is reported his estate to be such that, of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he never suffred any of their clothing after their first wearing to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to bee buried in the ground, there to rot; as also that he always had in service five hundred massalgees (torchbearers; *mashalchi*), in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in Agra, which was at least a corse, no man removed foote with his torch but stood all alongst to his house); next this man, Emersee Rostene (Mirza Rustam), late King of Candhar; then Can Cannä (which signifieth prince of the Cannes): then Cuttup Caun (Kutbuddin Khan Koka), Rajaw Manisengo (Raja Man Singh), Caun Asom (Khan Azam); Asoph Caun (Asaf Khan (Jafar Beg), Sheck Fereed), Kelish Caun (Kilij Khan), and Rajaw Juggonat (Raja Jagannath) who at his death had seven of his friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters and a brothers childe). On the left hand of the King stands Rajaw Bowsing (Raja Bhao Singh), who beats away flyes, then Rajaw Ramdäs (Ram Das), who holds his sword, Cleriff Caun, Caun John, Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun, Mocrow Bowcañ, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Najo Kesso, and Lala Bersing.²⁵ Note also that in this gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King over the doore is the picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand, of the Virgin Mary. This devoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the Ravee. From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the west, you enter another small court where is another open counter of stone to sit in, covered with rich semianes. From hence you enter into a small gallery; at the end of which, next the river, thorow a small window the King looks forth at his dersanee (*Jharokha darshan*) to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the medow by the river. On the wall of this gallery is drawne

24. Parwiz, Khurram, and Tahmuras. The last was a nephew, not a son.

25. These are Sharif Khan, Khan Jahan, Zamana Beg or Mahabat Khan, Mukarrab Khan, Raja Baso, Raja Rai Singh, Raja Keshu Das (?) and Lala Bir Singh.

the picture of the Acabar sitting in his state, and before him Sha Selim his sonne standing with a hawke on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroom, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Corome, his three sonnes. At the end is a small devoncan where the King useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alongst the right-hand whereof runneth a small moholl of two storyes, each containg, eight faire lodgings for severall women, with galleries and windows looking to the river and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to bee fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the gallery where the King useth to sit are drawne overhead many pictures of angels with pictures of Banian dews or rather divels, intermixet in most ugly shape who long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity that I wonder the poore women are not frighted therewith. Within this court is a pleasant devoncan and longings, and the way to another moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

Now to returne to the former court, where the Adees or guard keepe their watch, there is also on the left hand the new Derbar; beyond it another small court with atescanna, and passing thorow another gate a faire large square moholl, called the New Moholl, of that largenesse that it may lodge two hundred women in state, all severall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on, you enter another small paved cort on the left hand and into another moholl, the stateliest of the three, contrived into sixteene severall great lodgings, each having faire lodgings, a devoncan (or hall), a small paved court, each her tanke, and enjoying a little world of pleasure and state to herselfe; all seated very pleasantly upon the river. Before the moholl of Sultan Casserooms mother²⁶ is placed an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King; for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the midst stands a goodly gallery for the King to sit in, with such ugly pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraiture of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a nepkin, a third presenting the peally (*piyali*, a small cup); behind, one punkawing (fanning : *pankha*), another holding his sword, another his bow and two or three arrowes etc. Before this gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings and windowes alongst the water side; at the end a faire marble jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the river; beneath it a garden of

26. The Shah Begam. She was a daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das and sister of Raja Man Singh.

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pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings, very sumptuous, the walls and ceilings all over-laid with pure gold, and round amongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant, are placed faire Venice looking-glasses, three and three, each above other; and below these, amongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this man's ancestors, as of Acabar his father, Hamowne his grand-father, Babur his great grand-father, who first set foote into India with thirtie of his nobles, all clad like kalendars or fookeers, which so came to Dely to Secanders (Sikandar Lodi, 1489-1517 A.D.) court then raigning; where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy and returned upon his oath not to attempt anything during the said Secanders raigne, which he performed; but after his death he sent his sonne Hamawne upon his successor Abram (Ibrahim Lodi, 1517-26 A.D.), from whom he tooke the whole kingdome.²⁷ Yet at length rose up a great capitaine (Shere Shah) or the blood-royall in Bengala, who fought a great battle Sith Hamawne neare Ganges, put him to flight, and so closely folowed him that he drove him forth of the kingdome to the Persian Shaw; of whom hee obtained new forces (with whom came Byram Caun Canna his father for generall) and reconquered all, living after that in security. This king dying left Acabar very young, appointed Byram Caun (Bairam Khan) Protector; whom the Acabar, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a roomery (Spanish *romeria*) or pilgrimage to Mecca, as is said, made away with him. His sonne Can Canna (or Caun of the Caunes) doth also much curbe. Sha Selim the King, with his friends and allyes being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. Sha Selim affirmeth himself to be the ninth lawfully descended from the loynes of Tamerlan the Great, being the great-grand-child of Babur, King of Cabull.

But to returne to the entrance of this moholl: passing fort of that court thorow a strong gate, you enter into the city againe; this house and appurtenances of mohols being at the least two English miles in circuit. On the east-side of the castle, hard without the wall, is the garden of Asoph Caun (Asaf Khan, Jafar Beg), small, neat with walkes (planted with cypresse treesse), divers tankes and jounters; as you enter, a faire devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stoe pillars, a jounter for coolenesse. Beyond are other galleries and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived, and behind, a small garden and garden-house. In the midst of the garden is a

27. There seems to be no truth in this story of Babur's visit to India in disguise; and it was he, and not Humayun, who made the invasion of 1526.

very stately jounter with faire buildings over-head, and a tanke in the center with large and goodly galleries amongst, the foure sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoying to this is a garden of the Kings, in which are very good apples, but small, toot (*tut*, mulberry) white and red, almonds, peaches, figges, grapes, quinces, oranges, limmons, pomgranats, roses, stock-gellow-flowers,²⁸ marigolds, wall-flowers, ireos²⁹ pinkes, white and red, with divers sorts of Indian flowers.

On the west side of the castle is the ferry to passe over to Cabul (and so to Tartary or Cascar (Kashgar), a very great road-way, and the further side of the river is goodly countrey. Infinit numbers of gardens full of rarity exceeds (i.e. project beyond), two or three c. in length.

Passing the Sugar Gonge³⁰ is a faire meskite built by Shecke Fereed³¹ beyond it (without the towne, in the way to the gardens) is a faire monument for Don Sha his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim had to do (her name was Immacque Kelle³² or Pomgranate kernell); upon notice of which the King (Akbar) caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his moholl, where she dyed, and the King (Jahangir), in token of his love, commands a sumptuous tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a foure-square garden richly walled, with a gate and divers roomes over it.³³ The convexity of the tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire jounter with roomes over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention are of such largeness that, if they were otherwise contrived, would have roome to entertaine a very good man with his whole household. Without the Dely Droware,³⁴ where the nolat (*naubat*) or great drum beats, is a goodly streigt street, about three quarters of a mile long, all paved; at the end of which is the Bazar; by it the great saray; besides which are divers others, both in the city and suburbs, wherein divers neat lodgings are to be let, with doores, lockes, and keyes to each. Hence

28. The white stock (*Mathiola incana*).

29. The Florentine iris.

30. The shrine of Bawa Farid Shakarganj, to the south-west of the city.

31. Shaikh Farid erected several buildings in Lahore, but this mosque does not appear in the list.

32. *Anarkikali* (pomegranate blossom). There is no corroboration of Finch's story that she was the mother of Daniyal.

33. The tomb, which is still one of the sights of Lahore, was not finished till 1615.

34. The Delhi Gate (*darwaza*).

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to the north-east lyeth Ambere,³⁵ the place of hospitality; from hence to the south-east the habitation of divers loving etc.

The seventeenth of May came newes of the sacking of Cabul by the Potan theeves, which kept in the mountains, being eleven thousand foot and one thousand horse; the Gouverour thereof being at Gelababade (Jalalabad) that other affaires, and the garrison so weak that they were able only to maintaine the castle. In six houres they spoiled the city and retire with great booty. The King, for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three ombraes betwixt Lahor and Cabul; and yet all will not serve, they often sallying from the mountains, robbing caravans, and ransacking townes. The eighteenth of August arrived a great caravan from Persia, by whom we had French kings death,³⁶ and of affaires betwixt the Turk and Persian; he having destroyed the country about Tauris (Tabriz), red the citie, and filled up the wells to hinder the Turks armie; the merchants by this means (to our grieve) not daring to adventure beyond Candhar.

Of divers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome, to and from Lohor and Agra, and places of note in them³⁷

From Lahor to Cabull, passing the Ravee, at 10 c. stands Googes saray (Kacha sarai); beyond which 8 c. Emenbade (Aminabad), a faire city; thence to Chumaguckur (Chima Gakkhar) 12 c., a great towne. To Guzurat (Gujrat) 14 c., a faire citie of great trade; at 7 c. of this way you passe the river Chantrow (Chenab), neare a corse over. To Howaspore (Khawasspur) 12 c. To Laure Rotas (Rohtas)³⁸ 15 c., a citie with a strong castle on a mountaine, the frontier of the Potan kingdome. To Hattea (Hatya) 15 c. To Puckow (Pakka) 4 c. To Raulepende (Rawalpindi) 14 c. To Collapanee (Kalapani) 15 c. To Hassanabdall³⁹ 4 c., a pleasant towne with a small river and many faire tanks in which are many fishes with gold rings in their noses, hung by Acabar; the water so cleare that you may see a penny in the bottome. To Attock 15 c., a citie with a strong castle, by which Indus passeth in great beautie. To Pishore (Peshawar) 36 c. To Alleek Meskite

35. This may possibly refer to some *ambagh* (mango-garden) in which there may have been a *dharmsala* or rest-house; into no trace of such a place can be found in modern maps.

36. Henri IV was assassinated in May 1610.

37. This heading was doubtless supplied by Purchas.

38. From this point the road may be traced in the *Tuzuk* (Vol. i, p. 96).

39. Hasan Abdal. Jahangir records that he caught some fish here and released them after fastening pearls in their noses (*Tuzuk*, Vol. i, p. 99).

(Ali Masjid) 10 c., the way dangerous for rebels, which are able to make ten or twelve thousand men. To Ducka (Daka or Dacca) 12c. To Beshoule (Basawal) 6 c. To Abareek (Bariku) 6 c. To Aleboga (Ali Boghan) 9 c.; by which runneth Cow (the Kabul River), a great river which comes from Cabul (way still theevish). To Gelalabade (Jalalabad) 4 c. To Loure-Charebage 4 c. To Budde-Charbag 6 c. To Nimla (Nimla) 8 c. To Gondoma (Gandamak) 4 c. To Surcrood (Surkhab) 4 c.; a saray with a small river which looks red and makes to have good stomach. To Zagdelee (Jagdalak) 8 c. To Abereek (Ab-i-barik) 8 c. To Dowaba (Doaba) 8 c.; a great mountain in the way, 4 c. ascent. To Butta Cauke (Butkhak) 8 c. To Camree (Bikrami) 3 c. To Cabul 3 c. It is a great and fair citie, the first seate of this king great grandfather, with two castles and many sarayes. 20 c. beyond, is Chare-cullow (Charikar), a pleasant faire citie; and 20 c. beyond, Gorebond (Ghorband), a great citie bordering upon Usbeke. 150 c. beyond Cabul is Taul Caun (Talikhan), a citie in Buddocsha (Badakhshan).

From Cabul to Cascar (Kashgar) with the caravan is some two or three monethes journey.⁴⁰ It is a great kingdome under the Tartar. A chiefe citie of trade in his territorie is Yar Chaun (Yarkand), whence comes much silke, purslane (porcelain), muske, and rheubarb, with other merchandize; all which come from China, the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three monethes journey from hence. When they come to this entrance, they are forced to remaine under their tents, and by license send some ten or fifteene merchants at once to doe their businesse, which being returned they may send as many more; but by no means can the whole caravan enter at once.

From Lahor to Cassimere (Kashmir i.e. Srinagar) the way is as in Cabull way to Guzerat (Gujrat); from thence north or somewhat easterly withall, 16 c. to Bimbar (Bhimbar); to goagek Hately 14 c.,

40. 'Beyond Cabull 60 c. runne mountaines, at the foote of which lyeth the way to Cascar' (*marginal note*).

Finch's references to Central Asia and Kashmir in this and the succeeding paragraph from the subject of an interesting article contributed by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., to the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, 1917 to which the reader may be referred for details. Sir Aurel Stein notes that the time allowed by Finch for the journeys from Cabul to Kashgar, and from thence to China, still holds good. The 'gate' of the latter country he identifies with the present-day Chia-ku-kuan, near Su-chou. The route described from Lahore to Kashmir is, he points out, that regularly used by the Mughal emperors and now known as the Pir Panjal route; and the stages given by Finch, so far as they can be traced, are roughly correct.

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to Chingesque Hately⁴¹ 10 c.; to Peckly⁴² 10 c.; to Conowa 12c.; thence 8 c. you ascend a mountaine called Hast Caunk Gate,⁴³ on the top of which is a goodly plaine, from whence to Cassimer is 12 c. thorew a goodly countrey. The city is strong, seated, on the river Bahat (Bihat or Jhelum); countrie is a goodly plaine, lying on the mountaines, some 150 c. in length and 50 c. in breadth, abounding with fruits, graine, saffron, faire and white women. Heere are made the rich pomberies shawls : *pamai*) which serve all the Indians. This countrey is cold, subject to frosts and great snowes; neare to Cascar, but seperated with such mountaines that there is no passage for caravans; yet there commeth of-times musk, with silke and other merchandize, this way by men, and goods are faine to be triced up, and let down often by engines and devices. Upon these mountaines keepes a small king called Tibbot, who of late sent one of his daughters to Sha Selim to make affinitie.⁴⁴

Lands lyings Easterly from Lahor, with their Lords

Alongst the Ravee easterly lyeth the land of Rajaw Bossow (Raja Baso), whose chiefe seate is Tem-mery,⁴⁵ 50 c. from Lahor. He is a mighty prince, now subject to the Mogol, a great minion of Sha Selim. Out of this and the adjoyning regions come most of the Indian drugges, growing on the mountaines, spikenard, turbith,⁴⁶ miras kebals,⁴⁷ gunlack (gumlac), turpentine, costus,⁴⁸ etc. This Raja confines the Kings land easterly. Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck-Chand (Tilok Chand), whose chiefe city is Negercoat (Nagarkot), now Kangra), 80 c. from Lahor and as much from Syrinan (Sirhind); in which city is a famous pagod called Je or Durga⁴⁹ unto which worlds

41. The present Chingas Sarai.
42. The reference seems to be to the hilly district known as Pakhli; but as this is a considerable distance from the Pir Panjal route, being in fact on the alternative route via the Haji Pir pass, Sir A. Stein suggests that Finch's informant really meant to convey that from Chingas Sarai there was a branch route to the road coming through Pakhli to Kasmir.
43. The Pir Panjal pass. Sir A. Stein explains 'Hast Chaunk' as a reference to the mountain ridge of Hastivatj, overlooking the Pir Panjal pass from the south.
44. As Sir Edward Maclagan points out, Jahangir in 1590-91 A.D. married a daughter of Ali Rai, the ruler of Baltistan or Little Tibet (*Ain*, Vol. i, p. 310).
45. Dhameri, the old nome of Nurpur, near Pathankot, in Kangra.
46. Indian jalap, the road of *Operculina turpethum*.
47. Apparently chebulic myrabalaus.
48. The root of *Soussurea lappa*, valued both for medicfnal purposes and as a perfume.
49. The temple of Bajreswari Devi; see the *Tuzuk*, Vol. ii, 224, and Terry (*infra*).

of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and, throwing it at the idols feet, have found it whole the next day (able to lye, I am afraid; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, however); Yea, some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering. The holier the man, the sooner for sooth he is healed; some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe is a day in paine before the divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves; which, having made their offerings, by dreames in the night receive answeare, not one departing discontented. They report this pagan deity to have beene a woman (if a holy virgin may have that name); yea, that shee still lives (the divell shee doth) but will not shew herselfe. Divers Moores also resort to this peer (Pers, *pir*, a saint). This Raja is powerfull, by his mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite Sha Selim.

On this Rajaw easterly confinth another, called Deccampergas,⁵⁰ a mightie prince; his chiefe seat Calsery, about an 150c. from Agra; his countrey helf 500 c. long north and south, 300 c. broad, populous, able to raise upon occasion five hundred thousand foot, but few or no horse; the land plentiful in selfe, but sends forth little. To the eastward of this Rajaw, betwixt Jemini and Ganges lyeth the land of Rajaw Mansa,⁵¹ a mighty prince and very rich, reported to be served all in vessels of massie gold; his countrey 300 c. long and one hundred and fifty broad; his chiefe seat Serenagar (Srinagar); the mountaines called Dow Lager (*Dhaulagiri*. White-Mountain), upon which in time of winter falls such extreame snowes that the inhabitants are forced to remoove into the valleyes. Ye doe I not thinke that any of these lands extend northerly above forty degrees, but the height of the mountaines causeth this extremity of cold. This Rajas land extendeth within some 200 c. of Agra, part within 50 c. of Syrinan: very plentiful.

50. It has been suggested that this is meant for Ude Chand Parkash, Raja of Sirmur; but he had not yet come to the throne, and, bearing in mind that Finch's *r* is often mistaken for a *c*, it appears more likely that the earlier Raja, Dharm Parkash, is intended. It is true that the latter had been dead for over forty years; but Finch's hearsay information is often inaccurate in such matters. 'Calsery' is Kalsi, the ancient capital of Sirmur.

51. Garhwal. Here again Finch seems to be referring to a chief (Raja Man Sah) long dead.

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On the further side of Ganges lyeth a very mightie prince, called Rajaw Rodorow⁵² holding a mountainous countrey; his chiefe seat Camow; his territories extend 400c. long and not much lesse in breadth, abounding with graine, have many goodly cities; thence commeth much muske, and heere is the great breed of a small kind of horse called gunts (*gunth*) a true travelling scalecliffe beast. This prince is puissant in foot, but hath few horse or elephants, the mountines not requiring the one and the cold excluding the other; his lands thought to reach neare China. To the south of this Raja, thwart the stremes of Ganges, is seated another, Raja Mugg,⁵³ very powerfull in horse, foote, and elephants. In his land is the old rocke of naturall diamonds which yeelds him no small benefit. His lands extend east, somewhat south, 700 c. from Agra. Beneath him amongst the stremes of Ganges, keepeth a Potan prince of the Dely-kings race, whom the King cannot subdue, by resson of the stremes and islands of Ganges.⁵⁴ He confineth upon Purrop, and makes often inroads upon the kings lands, enforcing Sha Selim to maintaine a frontire army. Hence to the mouth of Ganges all is the Kings land; only in the mouth the Portugall out-laws hold a small fort, and doe much mishiefe) living in no forme of subjection to God or man.⁵⁵

52. This seems to be the Raja Rudra Chaod of Kumaon, though he had been dead some years when Finch wrote. By 'Camow' (Kumaon ?) is probably meant Almora.
53. A vague reference to the Maghs or Mugs. The *Ain* (Vol. ii, p. 120) alludes to their contention with the Arakanese over certain mines of diamonds, & c.
54. Possibly Isa Khan is meant.
55. These were the Portuguese pirates who had settled on the island of Sandwip and elsewhere.

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LETTER XI

Dear Sir,

The frequent introduction of the Sicques to your notice, will have naturally excited a desire to examine the history of this new and extraordinary people, who within a period of twenty years, have conquered a tract of country, extending in certain directions from the Ganges to the Indus. My knowledge of the subject does not permit me to deduce, on substantial authority, their history from the period in which Nanock their first institutor and law-giver lived, or mark with an order of dates the progress which this people have made, and the varying gradations of their power, until their attainment of their present state of national importance. You who are apprised of the futility of the documents which compose the general texture of Eastern record, who have witnessed the irresistible tendency of an Asiatic mind to fiction, and the produce of its ductile fancy, will grant me an indulgent scope, and will, I trust, believe, that though the body of the history be not complete, such parts only will be noticed, as are either founded on received tradition, or on those legends which have the least exceptionable claim to credit.

Under shelter of this preliminary, I will proceed to inform you that Nanock, the founder of the Sicque nation was born in the year of Chirstiaa era 1469, during the reign of Sultan Beloul¹ at the village of Tulwundy,² about sixty miles to the westward of Lahore. Nanock appears to have possessed qualities happily adapted to effect the institution of a new system of religion. He was inflexibly

* A Journey from Bengal to England by George Forster, Vol. I, pp. 255-95 and Vol. II, pp. 126-28, 197, 199, 227-28, 324-26, 382-383, 389.

1. A Patan king of Delhi, who reigned previous to Babur's conquest of Hindostan.

2. This village is now known by the name of Rhaypour. The terms given by the Sicques to their places of worship, are *Sunghat*, *Durmsallah*, and *Dairah*, words signifying in the Hinduee, an assembly of the people, a charitable or pious foundation, and a house. This last appellation seems to be applied in an eminent sense, as "the house." The Sicques, in commemoration of the place of Nanock's birth, have erected an edifice at Tulwundy, where a grand festival is annually celebrated.

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just; he enjoyed from nature a commanding elocution, and was endowed with a calm passive fortitude, which successfully supported him through the long course of a dangerous occupation. The tenets of Nanock forbid the worship of images, and ordain that the places of public prayer shall be of plain construction, and devoid of every exhibition of figure. A book, entitled the *Grunth*, which contains the civil and religious institutes of Nanock, is the only typical object, which the Sicques have admitted into their places of worship. Instead of the intermediation of subordinate deities, they are directed to address their prayer to one God, who, without the aid of any delegate, is to be considered the unassociated Ruler of the universe.³ Though many essential differences exist between the religious code of the Hindoos and that of the Sicques, a large space of their ground-work exhibits strong features of similarity. The article indeed of the admission of proselytes amongst the Sicques, has caused an essential deviation from the Hindoo system, and apparently levelled those barriers which were constructed by Brimha, for the arrangement of the different ranks and professions of his people. Yet this indiscriminate admission, by the qualifications which have been adopted, do not widely infringe on the customs and prejudices of those Hindoos who have embraced the faith of the Sicques. They still preserve the distinctions which originally marked their sects, and perform many of the ancient ceremonies of their nation. They form matrimonial connections only in their own tribes, and adhere implicitly to the rules prescribed by the Hindoo law, in the choice and preparation of their food. The only aliment used in common, by the Sicques at this day, is the *pursaud*,⁴ or sacred bread, from the participation of which no tribe or class of their people is excluded.

Few events of historical importance are related of Nanock, the founder of this sect; who possessing neither territory nor wealth, nor aided by the force of arms, preached his doctrine in peace, and mani-

3. When it is noticed that the worship of the Hindoos is loaded with a mass of puerile ceremony, and oftentimes conducted with a ridiculous grimace, it will not seem surprising that a creed, founded on principles calculated to promote the establishment of a simple uniform religion, and promulgated by a man of distinguished tribe and exemplary manners, should draw to it proselytes even in the bigoted regions of India.
4. The *pursaud* (*Parsad*) is said to be a composition of flour, butter, and certain spices; this bread after being consecrated by the Bramins, is also used by some sects of Hindoos in the ceremony of administering an oath, particularly in that quarter of the Orissa province, contiguous to the temple of Juggud Nautt.

fested, in the countries which he visited, an unaffected simplicity of manners. He journeyed through most of the kingdoms in India, from whence, according to the tradition of the Sicques, he went into Persia and Arabia. In his travels, which with short intervals continued for the space of fifteen years, he was attended by a Mahometan musician, named Murdana, who became his convert, and ever remained faithfully attached to his person. It is said that in one of the expeditions of Baber⁵ into India, Nanock having been apprehended by some of the solidiers, was brought before that prince, who informed of the sanctity of his character, treated him with respect and indulgence. As no records of the Moghul Empire bear a testimony of the existence of this sect during the period in which Nanock lived, it cannot be supposed that his converts were numerous or powerful. Nanock, according to the Sicque records, died in the month of August, A.D. 1539 aged seventy years, at Dayrah, a village on the banks of the Rawee, about forty miles to the northward of Lahore, were a vast concourse of people annually assemble, to perform certain ceremonies in commemoration of the day of his decease. Nanock, though he had two sons, devolved the charge of the mission to his favourite disciple Anghut,⁶ a Hindoo of the Chittery tribe, to whom he also entrusted the publication⁷ of the laws and precepts of his doctrine. Anghut, who seems to have passed his time in retirement, died about the year 1542, at the town of Khadour⁸ the place of his nativity. He was succeeded by Ammerdass, a native of the Lahore district, who propagated the new doctrine without molestation, and died in the year 1574, at the village of Govindual.⁹ Ramdass, who had espoused the daughter of the last preceptor of the Sicques, was then chosen the representative of their sect. This priest lived in the reign of Acbar, and according to the tradition of the Sicques, experienced some marks of that emperor's favour. Retiring in the later part of his life to a small district in the vicinity of Lahore, which Acbar had granted to him, he founded the town of Ramdasspour. He repaired also and ornamented a reservoir

5. Baber defeated the Patan King of Hindostan, in A.D. 1526.
6. Nanock changed the original name of his successor, which was Lehna.
7. The religious and historical writings of the Sicques, are written in a character called the Gooroo Mhookee (*Gurmukhi*), or the language of the Gooroos, or priests. This letter, which is said to have been invented by Nanock, differs from the various characters in use among the Hindoos.
8. A village in the Punjab, about forty miles to the eastward of Lahore.
9. Situated on the Byas, the second Punjab river from the eastward.

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of water, which had in ancient times been dedicated at the place by the Hindoos to their God Ram, and to which he now gave the name of Amrut Sir.¹⁰

Ramdass made a compilation of the history and precepts of his predecessors, and annexing his own commentaries, ordained that his disciples should form the principles of their faith on the doctrine set forth in the joint collection. Ramdass died at the town he had founded about the year 1581, and was succeeded by his son Arjun, who having incurred the displeasure of a Hindoo¹¹ favoured by Jekanguir, was committed by that prince to the persecution of his enemy; and his death, which happened in the year 1606, at Lahore, was caused, it is said, by the rigour of confinement. The succession devolved on Hurrgovind, his only son, who actuated by revenge for the cruelties exercised on his father, and strongly supported by the enthusiastic valour of his adherents, dragged the Hindoo from his house, though within the walls of Lahore, and put him to death. Fearing the effects of the emperor's displeasure, Hurrgovind fled to Hurtarpour, a village founded by his father, where he collected an armed body for the defence of his person, and according to the records of the nation, defeated a force that Jehanguir had sent to punish his rebellion. But the vein of incongruous story which runs through the achievements of this militant priest, precludes the derivation of any extensive historical use. The only passage deserving a serious notice represents, that an officer of Jehanguir, named Mahobut Khan affected the Sicque's submission to the emperor, who ordered him to be imprisoned in the fort of Gualior: but that after a short confinement, he was, at the intercession of Mahobut Khan, set at liberty. It is not seen that Hurrgovind disturbed the peace of the Moghul government at a future period, but passing his days in a recluse manner, he died about the year 1644, at Khryutpour, a village in the Punjab. The Sicques conferred the office of priesthood on Harray, the grandson of Hurrgovind though four of their late preceptor's sons were alive. No other mention is made of Harray, than that he died in the year 1661, at Khryutpour. At his death, a violent contest arose for the succession, which was claimed by the respective adherents of his two sons. Ramroy, and Hurkishan, then in infancy; but not being enabled to adjust their

10. *Amrut*, according to the mythology of the Hindoos, is a water said to bestow immortality on those who drink it and *Sir*, in certain dialects of the Hindoo, signifies a piece of water.

11. Named Chaundoo.

claims at home, they appealed to the courts of law at Delhi, where the opponents appeared and set forth their several pretensions. The cause it is said terminated in a permission being granted to the Sicques to nominate their own priest, when, adjusting the contest, they elected Hurkishen, who died at Delhi in 1664 a short time after his investiture.

Hurkishen was succeeded by Taigh Bhahauder, his uncle, who appears to have been persecuted with inveterate animosity by the adherents of Ramroy, who, supported by some persons of influence at the court of Aurungzebe, an order was obtained for the imprisonment of the new priest. Taigh Bhahauder, after remaining in confinement at Delhi for the space of two years, was released at the intreay of Jay Singh, the powerful chief of Jaynaghur, who was at that time proceeding to Bengal on the service of government. The Sicque accompanied his patron to Bengal, whence he returned to the city of Patna, which became his usual place of abode.

The records of Sicques say that Ramroy still maintained a claim to the priesthood, and that after a long series of virulent persecution, he accomplished the destruction of Taigh Bhahauder, who was conveyed to Delhi, by an order of Court, and in the year 1675, publicly put to death. The formal execution of a person against whom, the Sicques say, no criminal charge was exhibited is so repugnant to the character and the actions of Aurungzebe that we are involuntarily led to charge the Sicques of a wilful misrepresentation of facts, injurious to the memory of the prince and extravagantly partial to the cause of their priest. No document for the elucidation of this passage appearing in any of the memoirs of Hindostan that have reached my knowledge, I am prevented from discovering the quality of the crime which subjected Taigh Bhahauder to capital punishment.

Govind Singh, then a youth, and the only son of Taigh Bhahauder was called to the succession by the largest portion of the Sicque's disciples : but the intelligence of his father's death, and dread of a like fate, had induced him to fly from Patna, whence he retired after a series of various adventures into the territory of Siringnaghur. Though Govind Singh could not then have reached his fifteenth year, he evinced many marks of a haughty and turbulent spirit which was conspicuously shown in his conduct to the Siringnaghur chief. On pretence of an insult being offered, he collected his party, which amounted it is said to four or five thousand men, and defeated a body of the Siringnaghur troops; but being worsted in some future action,

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or, according to the authority of the Sicque, obliged by an order of the emperor to leave the country of Siringnaghur, he proceeded with his adherents to the Punjab where he was hospitably received by a marauding Hindoo chief of that quarter. Endowed with an active and daring temper, the Sicque assisted this new associate in various expeditions against the bordering landholders, and often in opposing the forces of government. The predatory conduct of Govind Sing rendering him obnoxious to the governor of Sirhend, he was attacked and driven from his place of residence. Being afterwards discovered amongst the hills in the northern parts of the Sirhend districts he was so vigorously pressed by the imperial troops, that abandoning his family and effects, he was compelled to save himself by speedy flight. Vizier Khan, the governor of Sirhend, sullied the reputation he had acquired in this service, by putting to death, in cold blood, the two younger sons of Govind Sing. A severe vengeance was taken for this act at a future period by the Sicques, who giving a loose to savage and indiscriminate cruelty, massacred the Mahometans, of every age and sex, that fell into their hands. After his late disaster, Govind Sing found a secure retreat in the Lacky Jungles,¹² which its natural defence, a scarcity of water, and the valour of its inhabitants¹³ had rendered it that day impregnable. But when the resentment of government abated, he returned without molestation to his former residence in the Punjab. The Sicques say, he even received marks of favour from Bhahauder Shah, who being apprised of his military abilities gave him a charge in the army which marched into the Decan to oppose the rebellion of Rambuchsh.¹⁴ Govind Sing was assassinated during this expedition by a Patan soldier, and he died of his wounds in 1708, at the town of Nandere,¹⁵ without leaving any male issue; and a tradition delivered to Sicques, limiting their priests to the number of ten, induced them to appoint no successor to Govind Sing. A Sicque disciple, named Bunda, who had attended Govind Sing to the Decan came, after the death of his chief, into the Punjab; where, claiming a merit from his late connection, he raised a small force, and in various desultory enterprizes, established the character of a brave but cruel

12. A woody country, situated in the northern part of the Punjab and famous for a breed of excellent horses, called the Jungle Tazee.

13. The Jatts.

14. A brother of Bhahauder Shah.

15. Nandere is situated near the banks of the Godavery, about 100 miles to the north-east of Hyderabad.

soldier. His successes at length drew to his standard the whole body of the Sicque nation, which had now widely deviated from the precepts of their founder: A confidence in their strength, rendered presumptuous by the absence of the emperor, had made them rapacious and daring and the late persecutions, cruel and enthusiastic Bunda, after dispersing the parties of the lesser Mahometan chiefs attacked the forces of Vizier Khan, the governor of Sirhend who fell in an action that was fought with an obstinate valour, but ended in the total defeat of the imperial troops. The Sicques expressed an extraordinary joy at this victory, as it enabled them to satiate their revenge for the death of the sons of Govind Sing. The wife of Vizier Khan, with his children, and a vast multitude of the inhabitants of Sirhend were destroyed with every species of wild fury. The mosques were overthrown or polluted, and the dead, torn out of their graves, were exposed to the beasts of prey. A party of Sicques had at the same time penetrated the greater Duab, and seized on the town and certain districts of Saharanpor,¹⁶ where they slaughtered the inhabitants, or forcibly made them converts to the new faith. Bunda who had rapidly acquired the possession of an extensive territory, was now deserted by his good fortune. He had crossed the river Sutledge with an intention of carrying his conquests to the westward, but being encountered by Shems Khan, an imperial officer who commanded in that quarter, he was repulsed with a great loss. The Sicque's troops employed in the Duab expedition, had even approached the vicinity of Delhi, but they were defeated by the forces of the empire, and driven back to the districts which still remained subject to Bunda,

Such was the situation of the Sicques when Bhahauder Shah finished the Decan campaign, and returned in the year 1710 to Hindostan. Alarmed at the progress, and irritated at the cruelties they had exercised, he marched towards their stations with a determination to crush the sect, and revenge the injuries that had been inflicted on the Mahometan religion. One of his Principal officers, advanced with a division of the army, and encountering the Sicques on the plains of Sirhend put them to fight after a bloody conflict; and a party of the fugitives who had taken refuge with Bunda, in a strong post, were made prisoners, though not before their chief had escaped. The Sicques who survived this disaster, though compelled to disperse, and their chief to wander about the country in disguise, were not conquer-

16. For its situation, see Rennell's map.

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ed in the reign of Bhahauder Shah. The death¹⁷ of this prince impeded the success of an active pursuit which had been made after the vanquished sectaries, on whose lives a price was set in every part of the empire. Conformably to the order of the last priest, disciples of Nanock had permitted the growth of the hair of the head and beard. An edict was therefore issued, compelling the Hindoos of every tribe to cut off their hair.

Jehandar Shah,¹⁸ who succeeded to the empire made a feeble effort to accomplish the extirpation of the Sicques, but his short reign being involved in an alternate series of debauchery, and tumultuous defence of his country against the invasion of Furruck Sir, this people were encouraged to emerge from their concealment, and again take up the Sword. In the reign of Furruck Sir,¹⁹ the Sicques, who had then collected a large force, were vigorously attacked by Abdul Sumet Khan, the governor of Lahore, who gave them battle near the fort of Loghur, and gained a decisive victory. Those who escaped took shelter with Bunda in Loghur, but being closely invested and reduced to extreme distress from hunger, they surrendered at discretion. The captives were conveyed in triumph to Delhi, where being exhibited in an ignominious manner to the inhabitants of the city, they met a deserved fate, for their savage and often unprovoked cruelties. Yet they met it with an undaunted firmness and died amidst the wondering praise of the populace.

Having thus briefly related the origin of the Sicques,²⁰ with a chronological notice of their ten priests, and the issue of Bunda's attempt to establish an independent dominion, I will interrupt the historical narrative at this period, by a summary description of certain domestic ordinances established by Nanock and his successors. The person desirous of becoming a member of the Sicque doctrine, is conducted into the presence of five or more of their peoples of any class or profession, assembled for the occasion when one of them pours into the hollow of his hand a little water, being touched by the toe of each of the Sicques, the proselyte swallows, previously repeating the

17. Bhahauder Shah died about the years 1712.

18. This Emperor reigned only a few months.

19. Furruck Sir's reign continued from 1712 to 1719.

20. The Sicques affix to their proper name the word Sing, which signifying a lion in the Sancrit language, the appellation of Sing belongs properly to the military order. The civil body of the people, artizans, merchants, and all the lower classes, being denominated Sicques, or disciples.

words "Wah²¹ gooroojee ka khalsah, Wah gooroojee ke Futtah." After the performance of this obligation, a cup filled with *sherbet* is introduced, out of which he drinks five times, and repeats at intervals the afore-mentioned ejaculation. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the convert is instructed in the use of a prayer of great length, in which the religious moral, and political duties of Sicques are set forth and the observance of them enjoined.

The first part of the initiation observed in admitting a proselyte, denotes the equality of the followers of Nanock, and is designed to destroy that fabric of ceremony and form, which the Hindoos are now taught to consider as the essential principle of their religion; but the purpose of the Sicque priests in elevating the new religion on this simple base has been but partially executed. The military Sicques permit the hair of the head and beard grow long; they usually fix an iron bracelet on the left hand, and they are prohibited the use of tobacco. These regulations which were probably instituted by their law-givers to distinguish them from other nations, are now become duties of a primary class and seem almost to form the essence of their creed. By a law of Nanock widows are forbidden to destroy themselves at the death of their husbands, and are permitted to renew the ceremonies of marriage. But so strong is yet the adherence of the Sicques who have been converted from the Hindoo tribes, to the ancient customs of their country, that many of their women are seen ascending the funeral pile; nor are they ever induced to enter a second time into the connubial state. The Sicques, after the manner of the Hindoos, bury their dead; and they oblige the Mahometan converts to adopt the like usage. They hold a lamentation for the death of any person criminal, and equally unjust as to be afflicted with grief at the payment of an equitable debt, or the surrender of a trust. Their belief of a future state seems to correspond in most of its parts with the metempsychosis of the Hindoos and as a sketch of that system has been already given further explanation of it is unnecessary.

The Sicque nation is composed of two distinct sects or orders of people; those who compose the most ancient one are denominated

21. These words, composed of the Arabic and Hindoo language, convey a benediction on the government of the Sicques and on the memory of their priests. The Sicques salute each other by the expression Wah Gooroo, without any inclination of the body, or motion of the hand. The government at large, and their armies, are denominated *Khalsa* and *Khalsajee*.

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Khualasah,²² and adhere, with little deviation on to the institution of Nanock, and the eight succeeding priests; in obedience to which, the Khualasah sect are usually occupied in civil and domestic duties. They cut off the hair of their heads and beards, and in their manners and appearance resemble the ordinary classes of the Hindoos.²³

The modern order of the Sicques, entitled Khalsa, was founded by Govind Sihg; who deviating from the ordinances of his predecessors, imparted a strong military spirit to his adherents, whose zealous attachment enabled him to indulge the bent of fierce and turbulent temper, and to give scope to an ambition naturally arising from the power which his popularity had created. Govind Sing is said to have restricted his sectaries from the use of tobacco, and to have enjoined them to permit the growth of the beard and the hair of the head. The military division of the people is composed of the Khalsa sect, which forms a native harshness of features and haughtiness of deportment, is conspicuously discriminated from that of the Khualasah, and other classes of the foreign converts.

For the space of seventy years after the death of Nanock, the growth of the Sicques was slow, and their conduct was regulated by a temperate discretion. But when the Moghal Empire had received its mortal wound from the commotions which arose amongst the sons and the gradnsons of Aurangzebe; when it was no longer guided by the skilful and vigorous hand which had diffused wisdom and spirit throughout its vast machine, the disciples of Nanock issued into the field, and participated in the varying fortunes of the day. The rebellions of the distant provinces, and the factions and intrigues of the court, events which rapidly followed the death of Aurangzebe, gave a powerful aid to the exertions of the Sicques; who improving the favourable occasion, carried their depredations, even in the regin of Bhahauder Shah, to the environs of the capital. The situation²⁴ of the country where the doctrine of the Sicques had been most widely promulgated, and where they first formed a military body, contributed to augment their power, as well as afforded shelter against a superior force of their enemies. On the skirts of forests and mountains, imperious to cavalry, they enjoyed also the benefits aris-

22. Khualasah conveys virtually the same meaning in the Arabic, as Khalsah, which signifies pure, genuine, &c.

23. I have been informed that matrimonial connections are occasionally formed between the Hindoos, and Khualasah Sicques.

24. In the vicinity of the Punjab mountains.

ing from the vicinity of an opulent populous territory, which at once afforded a store of converts and plunder.

The Sicque common wealth acquired an active strength from the spirit and valour of Bunda, who had inspired them with a zeal, which rendered meritorious every act of cruelty to the enemies of their faith, and gave their attacks, until opposed by the collected force of the empire, an irresistible impulse. The success of this fierce adventurer, had allured to his standard a numerous body of proselytes : some to obtain a protection against the rapacity of the Sicque government, others to take shelter from the oppressions or just demands of the empire : whilst many embraced the new doctrine, from the hope of participating the plunder of the Punjab. The larger portion of the converts were of the tribe of Jatts²⁵ and Goojers; a people who are chiefly seen in the northern parts of India. They are esteemed skilful and active husbandmen, but notorious for a turbulent and restless temper.

The defeat and death of Bunda effected a total destruction of the power of the Sicques, and ostensibly, an extirpation of their sect. An edict was issued by Furruck Sir, directing that every Sicque falling into the hands of his officers, should on a refusal of embracing the Mahometan faith, be put to the sword. A valuable reward was also given by the emperor for the head of every Sicque, and such was the keen spirit that animated the persecution, such was the success of the exertions, that the name of a Sicque no longer existed in the Moghul dominion. Those who still adhered to the tenets of Nanock, either fled into the mountains at the head of the Punjab, or cut off their hair, and exteriorly renounced the profession of their religion. After a period of more than thirty years, the spark that had lain concealed amongst the ruins of the fabrick of Nanock burst forth, and produced a flame which hath never been extinguished. It is mentioned that the Sicque forces appeared in arms at the period of Nadir Shah's return from Dehli,²⁶ when the Persian army, encumbered with spoil, and regardless of order, was attacked in the rear by detached predatory parties of Sicque cavalry, who occasionally fell upon the baggage-guards, and acquired a large plunder. During the periods of tumult and distress, which followed the Persian,²⁷ and the first Afghan invasion, the

25. The Khalsah Sicques have largely originated from these tribes.

26. 1739.

27. From the year 1739 to 1746.

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Sicques emerged more conspicuously from their places of concealment; and collecting a numerous party of promiscus adventurers, they soon rose into military importance. Even at the low ebb to which the Sicques had been reduced by the destruction of their sect they had continued to resort secretly to Amrutsir, and as the attention of the empire became at subsequent periods, fixed on subjects that demanded an undivided force, the Sicques were not molested in visiting their favourite place of worship, which gradually rose into the capital of their narrow territory. Meer Munnoo,²⁸ the governor of Lahore, in the reign of Ahmed Shah, alarmed at an increase of power, the evils of which had been already manifested by the devastations of the Sicques in his own country made a vigorous attack on them; and it is supposed that their force would then have been annihilated, had not this people found a strenuous advocate in his minister Korah Mul, who was himself of the Khualasah sect, and diverted Meer Munnoo from reaping the full fruits of the superiority he had gained.

Adina Beg Khan, an officer in the service of Meer Munnoo, had been sent with an army into the centre of the Sicque districts, which he over-run; and encountering their army some time in the year 1747, had defeated it with great slaughter. A permanent accommodation was ultimately effected through the mediation of Korah Mul, between the Sicques and the governor of Lahore, who being engaged in operations that led to more interesting objects, the Sicques were left at liberty to acquire strength, and enlarge their territory, which extended from the vicinity of Lahore, to the foot of the mountains. Whilst Korah Mul lived, his influence over the Sicques confined them to their own limit, and restrained their depredations. But the death of the officer, who was slain²⁹ in an action fought with the Afghans, and the tumult which arose at the decease of Munnoo,³⁰ from the various competitors to the government of Lahore, enabled the Sicques to fix the basis of a power, which though severely shaken at a subsequent period, has raised them from a lawless banditti to the ranks of sovereigns of an extensive dominion. The charm which had so powerfully operated in augmenting and consolidating the spacious empire of the Indian Moghuls, and in the eastern world proclaimed it invincible, was now broken; and a wide theatre was opened, in which every band of bold adventurers had

28. The son of Kummer-ud-Dein, the vizier of Mahomet Shah. This prince succeeded to the empire in 1747, and was deposed in 1753.
29. The death of Korah Mul happened in the year 1751.
30. Meer Munnoo died in the year 1752.

an ample scope to exercise their courage, and where the most alluring objects were held out to the grasp of ambition and avarice. The southern territories had been dismembered from the empire; and the Persians and Afghans, the Mahrattas the Sicques, had severally plundered and laid waste the northern provinces, and the capital.

After the death of Meer Munnoo, and a rapid succession of fleeting governors, the government of Lahore devolved on Adina Beg Khan and the court of Delhi, in opposition to the arrangements of the Duranny Ahmed Shah, who had annexed the Lahore province to his dominion, avowedly supported the power which Adina Beg had assumed in the Punjab. The courage and military experience of this officer found an active employment in curbing the turbulent and rapacious spirit of the Sicques: but aware of the advantage that would arise from a confederacy with a people whose depredations, accompanied with every species of rapine, could not be prevented without continued warfare, Adina Beg made an alliance with the Sicques, founded on a scheme of combined hostilities against the Afghans, whose territories.³¹ he invited them to lay waste, without requiring participation of the booty. Every infringement of the compact being severely resented by Adina Beg, the Sicques were rarely seen interrupting the peace of his government.

The court of Delhi, having by intrigue and occasional military aids, zealously contributed to promote the successes of the Lahore chief, Ahmed Shah brought an army in the year 1756 into India, to recover the possession of the Punjab, and to punish Ghaze-ud-Dien, the minister of Alumguir the Second, who had assumed an absolute authority in the capital. Adina Beg, an active supporter of the minister's interests, which were closely united with his own, not having a sufficient force to meet Ahmed Shah Duranny in the field, fled into the adjacent mountains, where he remained in concealment until the departure of the Afghan prince to his northern dominions.

In the year 1757, or 1758, a numerous army of Mahrattas,³² after subduing the adjacent territory, arrived in the city of Dehli where

31. The Afghans were at that time possessed of a tract of country, reaching from the Chinnau river to the Indus.

32. They had been invited into Hindostan by Ghaze-ud-Dien to support an administration which was detested by the people, and opposed by a party at court, Had not the arms of Ahmed Shah Duranny prevailed over the Mahrattas at the battle of Pannipett, it is probable that the Mahometan power would have been extinguished in India.

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their chiefs assumed an absolute sway. Adina Beg, aware of the benefit of an alliance with the Mahrattas, represented to their chiefs, that the Punjab garrisons, weakened by the departure of Ahmed Shah, would fall an easy conquest to their arms, which he offered to reinforce with his party, and the influence he possessed in that quarter. The Mahratta army moved without delay into the Punjab, and expelling the Afghans from Sirhend and Lahore, reduced to their power tract of country that extended to the river Jaylum.³³ National commotions calling the principal Maharatta officer into the Decan, they appointed Adina Beg Khan, who had largely promoted their success, the governor of Lahore: but he died early in the following year, at an advanced age, highly celebrated in Upper India for his military and political talents.

The Sicques, awed by the superior power of the Mahrattas, and fearful of incurring the resentment of Adina Beg, had not during his government, carried their depredations into the low country. In the course of the several expeditions which the Afghans made into India under Ahmed Shah, they were severely harrassed by the Sicques, who cut off many of their detached parties; and evinced, in the various schemes of annoying the Afghans, an indefatigable intrepidity.

Ahmed Shah, having in conjunction with the Mahometan chiefs of Hindostan, routed the combined forces of the Hindoos at the battle of Panniprett, in the beginning of the year 1761, and driven the Mahrattas from the northern provinces, meditated a full revenge on the Sicques; who during a small interval of his absence, had in the latter end of the same year, seized on the largest division of the Lahore province. Early in the year 1762, he entered the Punjab, which he over-run with a numerous army, dispersing the Sicques wherever they appeared, and diffusing a general terror by the havock which marked his invasion. The Afghan soon became possessed of all the low country, and the Sicques dismayed at his rapid success, and the cruelties exercised by his fierce soldiery abandoned the plains and sought a shelter with their families in the skirts of the mountains. A large party of Sicque had retired towards the northern districts³⁴ of Sirhend, which being more than a hundred miles distant from Lahore, the station of the Afghan army, they were not apprehensive of any immediate attack. But the motions and onset of Ahmed Shah were equally rapid and dreadful. He fell

33. The fifth Punjab river from the eastward.

34. The villages of Goojerwal and Baffpour, were at that time their common places of refuge.

suddenly on this body in February 1762, having marched from Lahore in less than two days, and cut to pieces, it is said, twenty-five thousand of their cavalry. The Sicques, in their day of success, having defiled and destroyed the mosques and other sacred places of the Mahometans compelling also many of them to embrace the faith of Nanock now felt the savage vengeance of their enemies. Amrut Sir was raised to the ground, and the sacred waters choaked up with the heads of slaughtered Sicques; and it is mentionned, that Ahmed Shah caused the walls of the principal mosques which had been polluted by the Sicques to be washed with their blood, that the contamination might be removed, and the ignominy offered of the religion of Mahomet expiated. Yet these examples of ferocious rigour did not quell the native courage of the Sicques, who still continue to issue from their fastnesses, to hover on the rear of the Afghans armies, and to cut off their scattered parties.

Ahmed Shah, in the close of the year 1762, returned into Afghanistan, which being composed of provinces recently conquered or acquired and inhabited by a warlike fierce people, demanded a vigilant personal attention. A body of his troops commanded by an officer of distinguished rank, had been stationed in the Lahore territory, and in the capital, which was strongly garrisoned. But soon after the march of Ahmed Shah, the Sicques were seen descending from their various holds on the Punjab, which they rapidly laid waste, and after several desultory actions, in which the Afghans were defeated, they besieged, and what seems extraordinary, they took the city of Lahore; where wildly indulging the enmity that had never ceased to inflame them against these severe courages of their nation, they committed violent outrages. The mosques that had been rebuilt or restored to use by the Mahometans, were demolished with every mark of contempt and indignation, and the Afghans, in chains, washed the foundations with the blood of ogs. They were also compelled to excavate the reservoir at Amrut Sir which in the preceeding year they had filled up. The Sicques, however keenly actuated by resentment, set a bound to the impulse of revenge; and though the Afghan massacre and persecution must have been imprinted on their minds, they did not it is said, destroy one prisoner in cold blood.

The records of the Sicques give a relation of a battle fought with the Afghans, previously to the capture of Lahore: but as ... issue does not correspond with the series of success, which conspicuously in India accompanied the Afghan arms under Ahmed Shah, or stand

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supported by any collateral proof to which I have had access, I am necessarily led to doubt some parts of the Sicque's relation. This event is said to have happened in October 1762, when the collected body of the Sicque nation, amounting to sixty thousand, cavalry, had formed a junction at the ruins of Amrut Sir, for the purpose of performing some appointed ceremony, and where they resolved, expecting the attack, to pledge their national existence on the event of a battle. Ahmed Shah, at that time encamped at Lahore, marched with a strong force to Amrut Sir,³⁵ and immediately engaged the Sicques; who roused by the fury of a desperate revenge, in fight also of the ground sacred to the founders of their religion, whose monuments had been destroyed by the enemy they were then to combat, displayed, during a bloody contest, which lasted from the morning until night, an enthusiastic and fierce courage, which ultimately forced Ahmed Shah to draw off his army and retire with precipitation to Lahore. The Sicques, it is also said, pursued the enemy to that city, which they took after a short siege; and that Ahmed Shah having made his escape before the surrender, crossed the Indus. Any probability of this event can only be reconciled by a supposition, that the army of Ahmed Shah had suffered some extraordinary, reductions, previously to the period in which this occurrence³⁶ is said to have happened. Without a further discussion of this clouded fact, we will proceed to the common annals of the day, where it is seen that the Duranny returned into the Punjab in the autumn of 1763, when he retook Lahore, and again drove the Sicques from the low country. The successes of this prince, though decided at the moment, were not followed by either a benefit to himself or to the country he conquered and could be only traced by slaughter and rapine; for in the course of the following year during his short absence, the Sicques ravaged the Punjab, expelled the Afghan garrisons, and pursued their fortune with so vigorous a rapidity that during the year 1764, they had over run and seized on, an extent of territory reaching from the border of the Indus to the districts of Delhi.

Ahmed Shah, in the three following years, continued to maintain a destitutory war with the Sicques; but possessing no treasure in India, fearing also the effects of a remote residence from his native dominion, he must have at length shrunk from the difficulties of conquering a numerous people who when driven from the plains, possessed impen-

35. This place is about forty miles to the westward of Lahore.

36. A total eclipse of the Sun is said to have happened on the day of action.

ertrable retreats in forests and mountains; and what was more dreadful to their enemies, an invincible courage.

After the year 1763, the period of his last campaign in India, Ahmed Shah seems to have wholly relinquished the design of subduing the Punjab. The Sicques now became the rulers of a large country, in every part of which they established an undivided authority, and raised in it the solid structure of a religion, in the propagation and defence of which, their persevering valour merit a common applause.

Timur Shah, the reigning prince of Afghanistan, the son of Ahmed Shah, had made war on the Sicques with various success. During the interval of his last campaign in India he wrested from them the city, with a large division of the province of Moultan; which the Sicques, contrary to the spirit of their national character, evacuated after a weak resistance. This surrender might on the first view be termed pusillanimous, especially when the inactive disposition of Timur is considered; but it seems to have been a natural consequence of their eternal division, and the fears entertained by the body at large, of the increase of individual power. The dominions of the Sicques whose limits are ever in a state of fluctuation was in the year 1782, bounded on the north by the chain of mountains that extend in an oblique line across the head of the Punjab, on the east by the possessions of the emperor and his officers which reach to Panniprett and Kurruwaul; on the south-east by the Agra districts; on the south by Moultan; and on the west by the Indus, except where the town and independencies of Attock, and some petty chiefships, are interspersed.

The Sicques have reduced the largest portion of the territory of Zabitah Khan, leaving him little more than the fort of Ghous Ghur, with a very limited domain in its vicinity.³⁷ This chief, the degenerate son of Najeb-ud-Dowlah, had made no vigorous effort in his defence; but thinking to sooth them, and divert their encroachments, assumed the name of a Sicque, and ostensibly, it is said, became a convert to the faith of Nanock." It is not seen that he derived any benefit from his apostacy; for at the period of my journey through the Duab, the Sicques were investing his fort, and he was reduced to the desperate alternative of calling in a body of their mercenaries to his assistance.

37. Durm Singh, was the name taken by Zabitah Khan. He was succeeded by his son Gholam Bahadur, in 1785, who though an active soldier, and respected by the Sicques, is not emancipated from their power.

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In the beginning of the year 1783, a party of Sicques traversing the Ghous Ghur districts, approached the Ganges, where it forms the western limit of Rohilcund, with an intention of crossing the river, and invading the country of the vizier. Being at the time in Rohilcund, I witnessed the terror and general alarm which prevailed amongst the inhabitants, who deserting the open country, had retired into forts and places inaccessible to cavalry. The Sicques, perceiving the difficulty of passing a river in the face of the vizier's troops, which were posted on the eastern bank, receded from their purpose. This fact has been adduced to show that the Sicques command an uninterrupted passage to the Ganges.³⁸

Thus have I laid before you, according to the most substantial authorities that I could obtain, the origin of the Sicques; their first territorial establishment, and the outlines of the progress they made, in extending a spacious dominion and consolidating the power which they at this day possess, we have been this people, at two different periods, combating the force of the Moghul empire, and so severely depressed by its superior strength, that the existence of their sect was brought to the edge of annihilation. The Afghan war involved them in a series of still more grievous calamity; as they had then laid the foundation of a growing power, and more sensibly felt the ravages of a formidable foe. They were driven from the sanctuary of their religion, and persecuted with a rage which seemed to keep pace with the increasing strength and inverteracy of their enemy yet we have seen, that in the lowest ebb of fortune they retained the spirit of resource; that they boldly seized on every hold which offered support; and by an invincible perseverance, that they ultimately rose superior in a contest with the most potent prince of his age. Grand auxiliary operated also in the formation and final establishment of the Sicque dominion. It hath already been noticed, that the first efforts of this people commenced at a time when the Moghul empire lost its energy and vigour; when intestine commotions, the intrigues of a luxurious court, and the defection of distant governors, had promoted the increase of individual interests, and a common relaxation of allegiance.

The decisive superiority obtained over the Sicques, by Meer

38. The Sicque forces assembled again in the beginning of the year 1785, when they entered the province of Rohilcund, and having laid it waste for the space of one hundred miles they returned unmolested.

Munnoo, would, we must believe with a judicious application of its uses have removed to a farther distance the rank which this state now maintains in Hindostan. To develop the actions of men, with whose history we are trivially acquainted, would be fabricating too refined a system of speculation, nor would I now investigate so obscure a subject, were it not to generally observe, that the preservation of the Sicques from the effects of Meer Munnoo's success, appears to have been largely promoted by the interference of his minister Korah mul, who being himself a Sicque, naturally became a trusty advocate of the sect; and who, it is said, completed his ascendancy over the Mahometan, by a considerable donation. But the distracted state of Ahmed Shah's Afghan and Persian dominions, which urgently called on a personal administration, afforded the Sicques the most favourable occasions of accomplishing the conquest of the Punjab; and it is probable, that had the Afghan prince been enabled to prolong his campaigns in Hindostan, the Sicques would not, during his life, have attained any extensive degree of national consequence.

I find an embarrassment in applying a distinct term to the form of the Sicque government, which, on the first view, bears an appearance of aristocracy; but a closter examination discovets a large vein of popular power branching through many of its parts. No honorary or titular distinction is conferred on any member of the State, and the chiefs are treated with a deference that would seem to arise only from the military charges they may at the instant be invested with, and from a self-preserving regard to the subordination necessarily required in conducting an armed body. Though orders are issued in a Sicque army, and a species of obedience observed, punishments are rarely inflicted and the chiefs, who often command parties of not more then fifty men, being numerous, its motions are tumultuous and irregular. An equality of rank is maintained in their civil society, which no class of men, however wealthy or powerful, is suffered to break down. At the periods when general councils of the nation were convened, which consisted of the army at large, every member had the privilege of delivering his opinion; and the majority, it is said decided on the subject in debate. The Khalsah Sicques even of the lowest order, are turbulent people, and possess a haughtiness of deportment which, in the common occurrences of life, peculiarly marks their character. Examples of this disposition I have myself witnessed, and one of them I think merits a distinct notice. In travelling throught the Siringnaghur country, our party was joined

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by a Sicque horseman, and being desirous of procuring his acquaintance, I studiously offered him the various attentions which men observe to those they court. But the Sicque received my advances with a sieve reserve and disdain, giving me, however, no individual cause of offence; for his deportment to the other passengers was not less contemptuous. His answer, when I asked him the name of his chief, was wholly conformable to the observations I had made of his nation. He told me (in the atone of voice and with an expression of countenance, which seemed to revolt at the idea of servitude) that he despised an earthly superior, and acknowledged no other master than his prophet.

The civil and military government of the Sicques, before a common interest had ceased to actuate its operations, was conducted by general and limited assemblies, which presided over the different departments of the state. The grand convention, called in their language Goorimotta, was that in which the army met to transact the more important affairs of the nation; as the declaration of war or peace, forming alliances, and detaching parties on the service of the year. The amount of the contributions levied on the public account was reported to this assembly, and divided among the chiefs, proportionably to the number of their troops. They were at the same time obliged to distribute a certain share of this property to their soldiers, who, on any cause of dissatisfaction, made no hesitation in quitting their service, and following a more popular leader. Subordinate officers were established for registering the political correspondence of the state, and for providing warlike stores; and the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was entrusted to a certain society of religions, composed chiefly of the descendants of their original priests, but they did not possess any influence in the temporal regulation of the state. These were the principal ordinances enacted by the first chiefs, when the people were united, and a common object governed their public conduct. The dominions of Sicques now widely extended, have been since divided into numerous states, which pursue an independent interest without a regard to general policy. The grand assembly is now rarely summoned, nor have the Sicques, since the Afghan war, been embarked in any united cause.

Their military force may be said to consist essentially of cavalry; for though some artillery is maintained, it is awkwardly managed, and its uses ill understood; and their infantry, held in low estimation, usually garrison the forts, and are employed in the meaner duties of

the service. A Sicque horseman is armed with a matchlock and sabre of excellent metal, and his horse is strong and well formed. In this matter I speak from a personal knowledge, having in the course of my journey seen two of their parties, each clothed in white vests,³⁹ and their arms were preserved in good order: the accoutrements, consisting of priming horns and ammunition pouches, were chiefly covered with European scarlet cloth, and ornamented with gold lace. The predilection of the Sicques for the matchlock musquet, and the constant use they make of it, causes a difference in their manner of attack from that of any other Indian cavalry; a party, from forty to fifty advance in a quick pace to the distance of a carbine shot from the enemy, and then, that the fire may be given with the greater certainty, the horses are drawn up, and their pieces discharged; when speedily retiring about a hundred paces, they load and repeat the same mode of annoying the enemy. The horses have been so expertly trained to the performance of this operation, that on receiving a stroke of the hand they stop from a full career. But it is not by this mode of combat that the Sicques have become a formidable people. Their successes and conquests have largely originated from an activity unparalleled by other Indian nations, from their endurance of excessive fatigue, and a keen resentment of injuries. The personal endowments of the Sicques are derived from a temperance of diet, and a forbearance from many of those sensual pleasures which have enervated the Indian Mahometans. A body of their cavalry has been known to make marches of forty or fifty miles, and to continue the exertion for many successive days.

The forces of this nation must be numerous, though I am not possessed of any substantial document for ascertaining the amount. A Sicque will confidently say, that his country can furnish three hundred thousand cavalry, and, to authenticate the assertion, affirms that every person, holding even a small property, is provided with a horse, matchlock, and side-arms. But when in qualification of this account, if we admit that the Sicques when united can bring two hundred thousand horse into the field, their force in cavalry is greater than that of any other state in Hindostan. A passage which I extracted from a memoir,⁴⁰ written at Dehli in 1777, exhibits a lively picture of this people in their military capacity.

39. A long calico gown, having a close body and sleeves, with a white skirt.

40. I believe it was written by Colonel Polier.

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The Sicques, "it represents," are in general strong and well made; accustomed from their infancy to the most laborious life, and hardest fare, they make marches, and undergo fatigues that really appear astonishing. In their excursions they carry no tents or baggage, except perhaps, a small tent for the principal officer: the rest shelter themselves under blankets, which serve them also in the cold weather to wrap themselves in, and which, in a march cover their saddles. They have commonly two, some of them three, horses each, of the middle size, strong active, and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Moultan, noted for a breed afford them an ample supply; and indeed they take the greatest care to increase it by all means in their brethren; they mourn for the death of a horse: thus showing their love of an animal so necessary to them in their professional capacity. The food of the Sicques is of the coarsest kind, and such as the poorest people in Hindostan use from necessity. Bread, ashes, and soaked in a mash made of different sorts of pulse, is the best dish, and such as they never indulge in but when at full leisure; otherwise, vetches and tares, hastily parched, is all they care for. They avoid smoking tobacco, for what reason I cannot discover; but intoxicate themselves freely with spirits of their own country manufacture. A cup of the last they never fail taking after a fatigue at night. Their dress is extremely scanty: a pair of long blue drawers, and a kind of checkered plaid, a part of which is fastened round the waist, and other thrown over the shoulder, with a mean turban, from their clothing and equipage. The chiefs are distinguished by wearing some heavy gold bracelets on their wrists, and some times a chain of the same metal bound round their turbans, and by being mounted on better horses; otherwise, no distinction appears amongst them. The chiefs are numerous, some of whom have the command of ten or twelve thousand cavalry; but this power is confined to a small number, the inferior officers maintaining from one to two thousand, and may not more than twenty or thirty horses, a certain quota of which is furnished by the chief the greater part being the individual property of the horsemen.

From the spirit of independence so invariably infused amongst them, their mutual jealousy, and a rapacious roving temper, the Sicques at this day are seldom seen co-operating in national concert, but actuated by the influence of an individual ambition, or private distrust, they pursue such plans only as coincide with these motives. An example of their forces being engaged in apposite interests, has

been noticed in the case of Mhah Sing, who succoured the Rajah of Jumbo, against the Sicque party, which had invaded his country. Before the chiefs of the Mountaineers country, at the head of the Punjab, were reduced to a tributary state, severe depredations were committed on them by the Sicques, who plundered and destroyed their habitations, carried off the cattle, and if strong and well formed, the male children, who were made converts to the faith of Nanock, But since the payment of a fixed tribute has been stipulated, which does not amount to more than five percent, on the revenue, the Mountaineers are littler molested, except when the Sicques have been called into adjust their domestic quarrels.

The extensive and fertile territory of the Sicques, and their attachment and application in the midst of warfare to the occupations of agriculture must evidently produce a large revenue. The districts dependant on Lahore in the reign of Aurungzebe, produced, according to Mr. Bernier, a revenue of two hundred and forty-six lacks and ninety-five thousand rupees; and we are naturally led to suppose, from the industrious skill of the Sicques in the various branches of cultivation, that no great decrease of that amount can have taken place since the Punjab has fallen into their possession.

And extensive and valuable commerce is also maintained in their country, which has been extended to distant quarters of India; particularly to the provinces of Bengal and Bihar where many Sicque merchants of opulence at this time reside. The Omichund who took so active, though unfortunate, a share in the revolution, which the English effected in Bengal, was Sicque; as is his adopted son, who is now an inhabitant of Calcutta. Merchants of every nation or sect, who may introduce a traffick into their territories, and are established under their government experience a full protection, and enjoy commercial privileges in common with their own subjects. At the same time it must be noticed, that such immunities are granted only to those who remain amongst them, or import wares for the immediate supply of the Sicque markets. But the foreign traders, or even travellers, who attempt to pass through the Punjab, are often plundered and usually ill-treated, In the event of no molestation being offered to people of this description, the scape is ever spoken of with a degree of joyful surprize, and a thanks-giving is offered to Provinence for the singular escape. This conduct, inimical to the progress of the civilization, and an impediment to the influx of wealth, proceeds from an extreme jealousy of strangers, added to a rapacity of temper which make

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them averse to the encouragement of any scheme whose success they do not immediately participate.

The Sicques are not rigorous in their stipulations with the Mahometan proselytes, who if they abstain from beef's flesh, (which is held in equal abhorrence by the Sicques as by the Hindoos), and preform the more ostensible duties, as burning their dead, and preserving the hair of the head; an indulgent latitude is granted in all the other articles of the creed of Nanock. The Mahometans who reside in the Punjab are subject of occasional oppression, and often to the insult of the lower classes of the people; among whom it is not an uncommon practice to defile the places of worship, by throwing in the carcases of hogs and other things held impure by the Muselman law. The Mahometans are also prohibited from announcing their stated times of prayer, which conformably to their usage, is proclaimed in a loud tone of voice. A Sicque who in the chance shall have slain a wild hog is frequently known to compel the first Mahometan he meets to carry to his home the body of the animal; and on being initiated into the rites of their religion the Sicques will sometimes require a Mahometan convert to bind on his arm the tusk of a boar, that by this act of national impurity, he may more avowedly testify a renunciation and contempt of the tenets of his former faith. These facts will sufficiently mark the haughty and insulting demeanour, which with few deviations, forms a prominent feature in the character of the military Sicques; but we may also ascribe a certain portion of their severe and contumelious treatment of the Mahometans, to remembrance of recent injuries.

The discordant interests which agitate the Sicque nation, and the constitutional genius of the people must incapacitate them, during the existence of these causes, from becoming a formidable offensive power; nor are they invested with that species of a executive strength which is necessary to advance and establish a distant conquest. In the defence and recovery of their country, the Sicques displayed a courage of the most obstinate kind, and manifested a perseverance, under the pressure of calamities, which bear an ample testimony of native resource, when the common danger had roused them to action, and gave but one impulse to their spirit, should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sicques to maintain the existence of empire and religion we may see some ambitious chief led on by his genius and success, and, absorbing the power of his associates, display,

from the ruins of their commonwealth, the standard of monarchy. The page of history is filled with the like effects, springing from the like causes. Under such form of government, I have little hesitation in saying, that the Sicques would be soon advanced to the first rank amongst the native princes of Hindostan; and would become a terror to the surrounding states.⁴¹

I am

Dear Sir,

Yours, & C.

1

The overthrow of the Mahrattas and Ahmed Shah's return into his own country, contributed to give the affairs of the Empire a less distrestful aspect; and the abilities of Najeb-ud-Dowlah, who conducted the administration of the young Prince, again reflected on the capital a glimmering ray of respect. A war now broke out between Najeb-ud-Dowlah and the Jatts, a powerful and war-like tribe of Hindoos, who in the general convulsion of the state, had seized on large tracts of territory, confining on the western bank of the Jumna, and comprehending the strong holds of Deigh, Combere, Burtpoure, and the city of Agrah. The cause of these hostilities is not explained in any document that has reached my knowledge; nor would perhaps throw any strong light on the history of Najeb-ud-Dowlah. They arose probably from the source which produced the various contests and disorders of the times; when the strong arm, unrestrained by fear of punishment, bore down the weaker; when established rights were subverted and the private bonds of faith, with impunity, rent asunder.

Sooridge Mull, the chief of the Jatts, commenced the campaign by attacking a Mahometan Jaguirdar, the adherent of Najeb-ud-Dowlah. But the event of this war, which was fatal to Sooridge Mull,⁴² did not confer any essential advantage on Najeb-ud-Dowlah, though he gained an easy and complete victory over the enemy: for the districts of

41. Mhadjee Scindia, a Mahratta chief, by seizing the relics of the Imperial authority and domain, had placed himself in the situation which the Sicques must have been desirous of occupying. This resolution will naturally create a national enmity, perhaps a contest, between the northern branch of the Mahratta empire, and the Sicque.

42. Sooridge Mull was killed in December 1763, in an action fought on the plains of Ghaziabad, near Hindia, and about eighteen miles distant from Delhi.

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Sarunpour had been over-run by the Sicques, against whom he was obliged to march, and to forego the fruits of his success.

In the autumn of the year 1764, Najeb-ud-Dowlah was besieged in Delhi, by a numerous army of Mahometans, Jatts, and Sicques, collected by Jewayir Sing, the son of Sooridge Mull, who had formed sanguine hopes of crushing the power of Najeb-ud-Dowlah, and revenging the death of his father. Ghaze-ud-Dein, who had brought with him a body of Patans from Furruckabad, also joined the confederate forces. After experiencing the distresses of a close siege of four months, heightened by a scarcity of provisions and money, Najeb-ud-Dowlah prevailed on Mollar Row, the Mahratta officer, to detach his troops from the army of Jewayir Sing, who on the desertion of so powerful an ally, raised the siege. The relief of Delhi was hastened also by the arrival of Ahmed Shah Duranny, at Sirhend, who was approaching with the avowed purpose of affording succour to Najeb-ud-Dowlah. This chief had but a short time breathed from the embarrassments of the late combination, when he saw that his most active exertions would be called forth to defend the territory he held on the western side of the Ganges, from the ravages of the Sicques;—a people constitutionally adapted for carrying on the various species of desultory war.

Najeb-ud-Dowlah formed a junction in the year 1770, with the Mahratta army, which came into Hindostan under the command of Tuckejee Holcar and Mhadgee Scindia, whom according to my Rohilla papers, he had invited to effect the expulsion of the Sicques from the Duab. Najeb-ud-Dowlah, who had in the latter period of his life fallen into an infirm state of health, was seized with a severe illness in the Mahratta camp. Leaving behind him a part of his army under the command of Zabitah Khan, his eldest son, he proceeded towards Rohilcund; but the disorder became so violent, that he could not proceed farther than Happer, a small town in the Duab, where he died.⁴³ The body was carried to Najebad, and interred in a tomb that had been erected by his order in the vicinity of that town. Najeb-ud-Dowlah held in his own right, and in fief of the Empire, a tract of country extending from Panifraet eastwards to Najebad; in the Duab, it was confined on the north, by Sarunpour, and on the south, by the suburbs of Delhi; and in Rohilcund, it reached from the mountains of

43. His death happened in October, 1770.

Siringnaghur, to the district of Moradabad.⁴⁴

The revenue of this territory in its improved state, was calculated at 100 lacks of rupees; but it was reduced to seventy, as is said, by the depredations of the Sicques, within a term of three years; nor would this amount have been preserved, had he not displayed in his operation with those Marauders, a distinguished skill in the alternate exercise of arms, and political address. The death of Najeb Khan was lamented by the people whom he governed, and his memory at this day is respected and beloved throughout the upper parts of India. He supported the character of a gallant soldier, he encouraged agriculture, and protected commerce; and he was considered as the only remaining chief of the Empire, capable of opposing any barrier to the inroads of the Mahratta and Sicque nations.

On the 28th, at Dayrah, the residence of the deputy of the Siringnaghur rajah.... This small town, which is populous and neatly built, may be called the capital of the lower division of Siringnaghur, which includes a space of level country lying between a chain of scattered hills on the south, and the larger range of northern mountains. This Sicques have an unrestrained access into these parts through the southern hills, which are broken by small valleys; and fearing no opposition from Zabitah Khan, they can at pleasure penetrate into the lower districts of Siringnaghur. The chief resides at a town bear in the common name of the territory, which lies, I am informed, about one hundred miles to the north, by the east of Lall Dong. The inactivity of the present rajah has enabled the Sicques to exact from this country a regular tribute.⁴⁶ Of what superior courage and resource was that chief of Siringnaghur who, in defiance of Aurungzebe, the most powerful prince of his time, protected the son⁴⁷ of Dara brother of the emperor, and his deadly foe, regardless of every menace. But he fell to the most destructive evil, my friend, which Pandora's box let loose upon the sons of man. It hath often armed the son against the father, that sown dissension in the marriage bed, broken the tye of honour, and the bounds of friendship.

To adjust the account of the Siringnaghur customs, the kafilah halted until the 15th, when we proceeded to Kheyapsaoor... ten cosses.

44. A principal town in Rohilkund, standing on the banks of the Ramgunge. . . . See Rennell's map.

45. It is called the doone, or low country.

46. Said to be four thousand rupees annually.

47. See Bernier's account of Sipahi Sheko's retreat into Siringnaghur.

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At this place, I saw two Sicque horsemen who had been sent from their country to receive the Siringnaghur tribute, which is collected from the venue of certain custom-houses. From the manner in which these men were treated, or rather treated themselves, I frequently wished for the powerful of migrating into the body of a Sicque for a few weeks... so well did these cavaliers fare. No sooner had they alighted than beds were provided for their repose, and their horses were supplied with green barley pulled out of field. The kafilah travellers were contented to lodge on the ground, and expressed their thanks for permission to purchase what they required;...such is the difference between those who were in, and those who were out of power.

I

A Journey From Bengal to England by George Forster, Vol. I

On the 3rd, at Dada...ten cosses; dependent on the chief of Sebah....From a stream running through the village, we procured some excellent fish, taste of the size and something of the taste of Punjab, lies wholly at the mercy of the Sicques, who are I think the plainest dealers in the world. The fort of Sebah,⁴⁸ standing pleasantly on the brink of rivulet, lay on our road; and in passing it, I saw two Sicque cavaliers strike a terror into the chief and his people, though shut up within their fort. They had been sent to collect the tribute which the Sicques have imposed on all the mountain chiefs from the Ganges to Jumbo; and offended at the delay of the payment, these high spoken men were holding to the affrightened Hindoos, that style of language, with which one of our provincial magistrates would direct at a gipsey, or sturdy beggar. From long observation, I can with confidence say, that the Hindoos are a more temperate people, and much more useful in the various relations of life, than any class of Mahometans that have come with in my knowledge.

I

A Journey From Bengal to England by George Forster, Vol. II

In viewing the manners of a large, it were at once a sacrifice of truth and every claim to historical merit, to introduce passionate or fanciful colouring; yet the coolest reflection does not withhold me from saying, that never know a national body of men more impregnated with the principles of vice, than the natives of Kashmire. The

48. Situated about three cosses to the south-west of Dada, and the only fortified residence I have seen among the mountains. The vicinity of the Punjab as has perhaps induced the mountaineers to fortify this place.

character of a Kashmirian is conspicuously seen, when invested with official power. Supported by an authority which prescribes no limits to its agents, in the accumulation of public emoluments, the Kashmirian displays the genuine composition of his mind. He becomes intent on immediate aggrandizement, without rejecting any instrument which can promote his purpose. Rapacious and arrogant, he evinces in all his actions, deceit, treachery, and that species of refined cruelty which usually actuates the conduct of a coward. And it is said, that he is equally sickle in his connections, as implacable in enmity. On behalf of humanity, I could wish not to have been capacitated to exhibit of so disgusting a picture, which being constantly held out to me for nearly three months, in various lights, but with little relief, impressed me with a general dislike of mankind.

The Kashmirians are so whimsically curious, that when any trivial question is proposed to them, its intention and purpose is enquired into with a string of futile interrogatories, before the necessary information is given; and a shopkeeper rarely acknowledges the possession of a commodity, until he is apprized of the quantity required. In examining the situation in which these people have been placed with its train of relative effects, the speculative moralist will perhaps discover one of the larger sources, from whence this cast of manners and disposition has arisen. He will perceive that the singular position of their country its abundant and valuable produce, with a happy climate, tend to excite strong inclinations to luxury and disseminate pleasures and he is aware, that to counteract causes, naturally tending to enervate and corrupt the mind, a system of religion or morality is necessary to inculcate the love of virtue, and especially, to impress the youth with early sentiments of justice and humanity. But he will evidently see, that neither the religious or the moral precepts of the present race of Mahometans contain the principles of rectitude of philanthropy; that on the contrary, they are taught to look with abhorrence on the fairest portion of the globe, and to persecute and injure those who are so inclosed in the fold of their prophet. Seeing then the Kashmirians, presiding as it were at the fountain head of pleasure, neither guided or checked by any principle or example of virtue, he will not be surprized, that they give a wide scope to the passions of the mind and enjoyments of the body.

Azad Khan, the present governor of Kashmire of the Afghan tribe succeeded his father Hadji⁴⁹ Kareem Dad, a domestic officer

49. Those who have made the pilgrimage of Mecoa are termed Hadji.

THE ACCOUNT OF GEORGE FORSTER

of Ahmed Shah Duranny, and who was, at the death of that prince, advanced to the government of Kashmire, by Timur Shah, as a reward for quelling the rebellion of the Amir Khan.

Ahmed Shah having run through a long and arduous military career, and acquired even the character of a temperate and just prince, died in the year 1773, in the vicinity of the new city of Kandahar,⁵⁰ which he had designed to be the capital of Afghanistan. This prince was succeeded by his son Timur, who keeps his court in the city of Kabul; to preserve the foreign possessions of his father, he made in the first part of his reign, some desultory expeditions into India; but on the issue of an unsuccessful campaign with the Sicques, he was compelled to relinquish the whole of the Punjab territory. At this day he retains, on the eastern side of the Indus, the principality of Kashmire, the district of Attock, with some scattered divisions of Moultan, including the city and the territory of Scind. Yet Timur Shah derives but few real advantages from his Indian domain. Scind at the period of my journey, was in a degree dismembered from his empire; no revenue had been remitted to Kabul for the space of two years, or any measure adopted to enforce obedience. And the governor of Moultan, confiding on his remote distance from the empire and the inactive disposition, of the prince, shows only that attention to the orders of government, which is most accordant with his purposes. From this outline you will perceive, that the Afghan dominion in India, does not stand on a flourishing ground; that under the auspices of Timur, few marks of its extension are evinced; or that it imparts any leading influence in the affairs of Hindostan.

The chief strength of the Afghan prince, I presume to say, is derived from the weakness and discord of his neighbours. Were the Sicque chiefs not more apprehensive of a domestic increasing influence, than desirous of subduing a constitutional enemy, they would, it may be fairly inferred, speedily extinguish the Afghan government in India; and should the Persian force be thrown into a body, under the conduct of an able leader, it is not only probable, that the dismembered division of Khorasan would revert to its ancient possessors, but that the Afghans would again feel a foreign yoke. . . . With an earnest apology for this long letter, I remain,

Yours, & c.

50. Nadir Shah destroyed the old fortress of Kandahar, which stood on the top of a high rocky hill, and founded on a contiguous plain, a city entitled Nadirabad; it was completed by Ahmed Shah, and is now only known by the name of Kandahar.

An Account of the Sikhs

Colonel A. L. H. Polier

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Colonel Polier's *The Sikhs* is the first known connected account of the Sikh people written by a European. According to internal evidence provided by references to Mirza Najjaf Khan's hostilities against the Macheri chief (Rao Raja Partap Singh) in 1779-80, the death of Ahmad Shah Durrani (on the night of October 16-17, 1772) 'which had happened about eight or nine years ago', and the conquest of Multan from the Sikhs by Taimur Shah Durrani in February 1780¹, this paper was written in 1780 (see footnotes 24 and 35). Some eight years later, it was read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now the Asiatic Society) at Calcutta on December 20, 1787. No copy of it seems to have been left with the office of the Society, nor was it published in the Society's *Journal*. The present copy has been obtained from the India Office Library, London (Orme MS., XIX, pp. 73-83), and I am thankful to its Librarian for his courtesy in arranging to let me have a photostat copy.

Antoine Louis Henri Polier, as that was the full name of Colonel Polier, was a Swiss Engineer, nephew of Paul Phillip Polier the Commandant of Fort St. George (Madras). He entered the service of the East India Company in 1757 and arrived in India in 1758. Having for some time served in Madras and Bihar, he was appointed Assistant Engineer at Calcutta with the rank of Captain in the army. His work in the construction of Fort William was highly appreciated by all competent authorities. But as a non-Englishman, he found his way barred to promotion higher than Major. He, therefore, gladly accepted the offer of deputation with Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh. But he soon became the victim of the hostilities of the enemies of Warren Hastings and had to resign his job in 1775. His straitened financial circumstances, however, compelled him to seek employment again and he was readmitted into the Company's service in April 1782, as a Lieutenant-Colonel and was stationed at Lucknow. In 1789 he finally

1. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Calcutta, 1932, iii, pp. 163-70; Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, Bombay, 1959, p. 411; and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, V (No. 1843), p. 438.

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retired from service, returned to Europe and settled down near Avignon in France. There he was murdered by robbers (or revolutionaries) on February 9, 1795.

Oudh in the eighteenth century was the land of art and literature and its capital, Lucknow, was the centre of educational and cultural institutions. Here Colonel Polier came into contact with men of learning and became interested in the history and religions of India. He collected quite a large number of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic manuscripts and he was the first European to secure a complete set of the Vedas which, along with some Persian manuscripts, he presented to the British Museum, London. The Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris possesses a number of his manuscripts, and the Bibliothèque Cantonale of Lausanne, Vaud, Switzerland, 'contains a manuscript catalogue of 120 Oriental works with annotations by Polier.' The Khudabakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna, is also said to have a manuscript bearing Polier's name-stamp. The Pote Collection at Eton College (England) was mainly made by him.

Polier was one of the earliest members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, elected on January 29, 1794. He took quite a keen interest in the advancement of the object of the Society and, among other things, communicated to it a paper written by Dr John Williams (read on February 9, 1787). His own paper on *The Siques or History of the Seeks* was read on December 20, 1787, and another on *The Distillation of Roses as Practised in Isfahan and a Translation of the Inscriptions on Pillars in Feroz Shah Kotla* were read on March 27, 1788. His *Mythologie des Indous* was published posthumously in 1809.

The above information about Colonel Polier is based on Dr Pratul C. Gupta's *Introduction to Polier's Shah Allam II and His Court* (Calcutta, 1947), Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army* (Part III, L-R) and Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. For further details, the inquisitive reader is referred to the *Secret and Public Consultations* in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, the National Archives' *Calendars of Persian Correspondence*, Davies' *Warren Hastings and Oude, Selections from the State Papers of the Governor-General of India* (Warren Hastings), *Bengal, Past and Present*, 1910, 1914, etc., etc.

Polier's paper on *The Siques* is evidently based on casual information collected by him during his deputation with Shuja-ud-Daula and the years following his resignation when he occasionally came into contact with them in the neighbourhood of Delhi and heard a good deal about them in connection with their relations with the Imperialists

of Delhi and the Ruhilas the Jats, the Rajputs and the Marathas. It contains a number of factual mistakes which are not uncommon to foreign writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when, for want of close personal contact, they did not have first-hand knowledge of history and institutions of the Sikhs, nor, in the absence of authoritative literature and original documents, could they have reliable sources for their studies. Added to this, Polier had his own prejudices against the Sikhs impressed upon his mind by the repeated one-sided reports of the Mughal officials against whom they had been struggling for over eighty years. He, therefore, rapidly believed whatever information was given to him at the time he wrote his paper. All these I have tried to correct in the footnotes, in the light of empirical knowledge and reliable material that have now become available.

I have also appended, under II and III, *An Extract from a letter of Major Polier* written from Delhi on May 22, 1776, to Colonel Ironside at Belgram, and a note on the *Character of the Sikhs* (from the observations of Colonel Polier and Mr. George Forster) culled from *The Asiatic Annual Register* for the year 1800 (London, 1801, pp. 32-35) and 1802 (London, 1803, pp. 9-12), respectively.

The letter to Colonel Ironside was written by Polier some eleven years before he read his paper, and the views and impressions expressed therein do not seem to have undergone much change. The writer of the *Charater of the Sikhs* seem to have studied the observations of both Colonel Polier and George Forster. Forster was a civil servant on the Madras establishment of the East India Company. He was a man of adventure and he left Calcutta on May 23, 1782, on his long and arduous overland journey to England and passed through the north-eastern hilly tracts of the Punjab in February, March and April, 1783. He was a keen observer of men and things and he has recorded his impressions and the information collected during the journey in a series of letters published in 1798 under the title of *A Journey from Bengal to England*. Although, in his own words, Forster was under great obligations to Colonel Polier...for having furnished me with large historical tracts of the Siques', he had 'no tendency to discolour or misrepresent truth', as it appeared to him. 'Guided by no views of interest nor impressed by any frown of power, I was enabled', he says, 'to examine the objects that came before me through a dispassionate medium.' And he has succeeded in it to a very great extent. He has devoted his Letter XI, pp. 253-95, to the history and religion of the

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Sikhs, in addition to occasional references to them in other letters, *vide* vol. i, pp. 128-30, 198-99, 227-28 and vol. ii, pp. 83, 88.

GANDA SINGH

1

THE SIKUES

The Sikues date the origin of their sect as far back as the reign of Ackbar, at which time lived in the environs of Lahore a reputed saint named *Gorou Nanak*.¹ (In their language, *gorou* signifies master or leader, and Sique, a disciple) This man had many followers who embraced his doctrine and acknowledged him as the head of a new sect, which, however, during that reign and the there succeeding ones did not increase much, or at least never attempted to rise against the lawful authority. It was not till the reign of Bahaudur Shah that they began to appear in arms² and endeavoured to shake off their allegiance, at which time under the direction of a new saint, one *Gorou Govind*,³ they laid the foundation of a kind of republic, which might prove very formidable to its neighbours, and overwhelm them in the end, did not at the same time their disunion, intestine divisions of jealousies prevent them from extending their power so far as they might otherwise.

Originally and in general the Sikues are zemindars or cultivators of land, and of that tribe called *Jatts* which, in this part of India, are reckoned the best and most laborious tillers, though at the same time they are also noted for being of an unquiet and turbulent disposition. This tribe of the *Jatts*, one of the lowest amongst the Hindoos, is very numerous and dispersed in all the country from the *Attek* or to the Sind to the southward far beyond Agra ; and though in that extent, it be intermixed, with some others, nevertheless, in those provinces, it is by far the most considerable tribe.

1. The Sikhs traces their origin not to the days of the great Mughal Akbar, but to those of the Lodhis. Guru Nanak the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in 1469 during the reign of the first Lodhi King, Bahlol Khan (1450-1488), and died in 1539 during the days of the second Mughal Emperor Humayun (1530-1540). *Sique*, *Siek*, or *Sikh* is the Panjabi form of the Sanskrit *sisya*, meaning a disciple.

2. The first person to appear in arms was the Sixth Guru Hargobind (1606-1644) during the reigns of Emperors Jehangir (1605-1627) and Shah Jahan (1627-1658).

3. Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru (1675-1708), instituted the baptismal rite, *Khanda da Amrit*, on March 30, 1699, and created the order of baptized Sikhs of *Singhs*, known as the *Khalsa* which became the basis of the Sikh republics (*misals*) established by the Sikh *misaldar* Sardars.

The troubles and rebellions, which disturbed the empire during the tumultuous reign of *Bahadur Shah*, gave the Siques an opportunity of rising in arms, and shaking off the royal authority ; this, however, they did by degrees ; they fortified themselves at a place called *Ramrowny*,⁴ about 20 *cosses* this side of Lahore, and there established their principal place of worship, which is at a large tank called *Ambar Sar*,⁵ or *Chak*.⁶

The Siques then began to increase greatly in number, many proselytes were made, some from fear, others from a love of novelty and independence ; all that came, though from the lowest and most abject castes, were received, contrary to the Hindoo customs which admit of no change of caste, and even Musulmen were in the number of the converts. The fame of *Gorou Govind*,⁷ who then made his appearance and of whom many prodigies were related, contributed greatly to establish this sect. This reputed saint soon found himself at the head of a numerous force, and began to make excursions and converts, sword in hand. He exerted himself so successfully, that at last he drew the attention of Government towards him. Farockseer⁸ was then on the throne. An army was formed in or about 1715

4. Ram-Raoni is a compound of two words 'Ram' and *raoni*. *Raoni* literally means an encloser ; and the walled enclosure raised by the Sikhs at Amritsar near their temple in April 1748 was named the Ram-Raoni after the fourth Guru Ramdas, the founder of Amritsar.
5. Amritsar, the principal place of Sikh worship, was not established at Ram-Raoni, but, in fact, Ram-Raoni was established near the Sikh place of worship at Amritsar (called Ambarsar by illiterate people) which had been founded by Guru Ramdas in 1574, one hundred and seventy-four years before the Ram-Raoni came into existence.
6. *Chak*, *Chak-Guru* or Chak Guru Ramdas, was the original name of the city of Amritsar.
7. Here Colonel Polier, like many other writers before and after him, has confused Banda Singh, a disciple of the Guru, with Guru Gobind Singh. Originally a *Bairagi Sadhu*. Banda Singh was converted to Sikhism by the Guru at Nander (Deccan) in September 1708, and was sent to the Punjab to lead the Sikhs in military expeditions. He arrived in the Punjab in 1709 and conquered the province of Sirhind in the battle of Chappar Chiri on May 12, 1710 (Rabi-ul-Awwal 24, 1122 A.H.)
8. It was during the reign of Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) that an army was first sent against Banda Singh who had then to seek shelter to the Shivalik hills in December 1710. The campaign of Abdus-Samad Khan in 1715 during the reign of Farrukh-Siyar was the last one against Banda Singh.

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under the command of Abdul Semad Khan, Subadar of Lahore, and he had orders to exterminate the sect. It was not an easy task, however, after many marches and pursuits he came up with their main body, which he totally defeated. He had even the good luck to take *Gorou Govind*⁹ himself prisoner. The Gorou was sent to Delhi, shut up in an iron cage, and afterwards put to death,¹⁰ and his disciples, wherever they were, caught, were, on their refusal of turning Mohammedans, immediately executed.¹¹ The chase became so hot after them, and was carried on with so much spirit, and so unrelenting a vigour, that the very name seemed extinct, and those few who still remained, were obliged by shaving off their beard, and hair, to deny their sect and leader.¹² After him for many years no more mention is made of the Siques, and it was not until some time after Nadir Shah's invasion that they began to show their head again. However, the gallant Mir Mannou, then Subadar of the provinces of Lahore and Multan, attacked them briskly, and gave them little time to get strength ; indeed he might have crushed them entirely, had he not at the instigation of *Coraumul*, his Naib or Deputy in the

9. This was Banda Singh and not Guru Gobind Singh. The latter died at Nander on October 7, 1708.
10. Banda Singh was done to death at Delhi on June 9, 1716 (Jamadi-ul-Akhir 29, 1128 A.H.) near the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki.
11. This evidently refers to the edicts issued by Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-12) and Farrukh-Siyar (1713-19) ordering wholesale massacre of the Sikhs. In the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1710), Bahadur Shah ordered *Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik* Mahabat Khan on Shawal 29 (December 10) to write to the *faujdars* of the territories of Shahjahanabad to kill the Sikhs wherever found—*Nanak-prastan ra har-ja kih ba-yaband ba-qatl rasanan* (*Akbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*). This order was repeated soon after execution of Banda Singh during the reign of Farrukh-Siyar saying : 'wherever found, the followers of this sect should be unhesitatingly killed (*Miftah-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 398).
12. There is not a single instance on record to say that any Sikh during this period of persecution shaved off his head or beard or abjured his faith to save his life. The observations of the agents of the East India Company, John Surman and Edward Stephenson, in their letter XII of March 10, 1716, addressed to the President and Governor of Fort William and Council in Bengal, regarding the execution of about 780 Sikh companions of Banda Singh at Delhi are very significant. The letter says : "There are one hundred each day beheaded. It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one has apostatized from the new formed religion. (Wheeler, *Early Records of British India*, p. 180).

Subadary of Multan, accepted a sum of money¹³ to save their capital Ramrowny which he had surrounded and was on the point of taking. This false step *Coraumul* engaged him to take to lessen the merit, it is said, of *Adina Beg Khan*, a brave and valiant officer (in whom Mir Mannou placed great confidence) who had conducted the expedition against the Siques, and who of course must have gained much glory had they been entirely reduced.¹⁴ However, from whatever motives it might be, the Siques escaped total destruction ; they paid largely for it and Mir Mannou who had other work on his hand was no sooner at a distance, than they began to strengthen themselves anew. It is true, for some time and while *Coraumul* lived, they were by his influence over them kept in tolerable order and obliged to remain quiet, and moreover Mir Mannou's orders to convert them to Musulmanism or destroy them, wherever they could be found strolling in arms, were also during his life strictly and vigorously executed.

But the anarchy and confusion which ensued after Mir Mannou's death¹⁵ in the provinces of Lahore and Multan, from the different competitors for the Subadary, and the intrigues of his widow, who wanted to retain the Government in her hands and actually was for a considerable time in possession of it, prevented that attention from being paid to the Siques, which their spirit and rebellious principles required. It was then they began to grow formidable and to assume a real independence. They formed themselves into a kind of republic and in the course of a few years possessed themselves of the full

13. Kaura Mall helped the Sikhs during the governorship of Mir Mannu (April 1748 to November 1753) not for having 'accepted a sum of money', but because he was a Sikh, himself though not a baptized *Singh*. According to George Forster 'the preservation of the Siques from the effect of Meer Munno's success appears to have been largely promoted by the interference of his minister Korah Mul, who, being himself a Sique, naturally became a trusty advocate of the sect. (*A Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. I, pp. 272-73, 284-85).

14. In fact the siege of Ram-Raoni was raised in the interests of the government of Mir Mannu himself to secure neutrality of the Sikhs at a time when Ahmed Shah Durrani was invading India (in fact, the Punjab) for the second time in November 1748. As a result of the compromise, ten thousand Sikhs, under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, helped Kaura Mall win the final battle (October 1749) against Shah Nawaz Khan in the conquest of the province of Multan (*Ganda Singh, Maharaja Kaura Mall Bahadur*, pp. 73-82).

15. Mir Mannu died on November 4. 1753 (Muharrum 7, 1167 A.H.).

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Government of the province of Lahore and Multan.¹⁶

About that time they attracted the notice of Ahmad Shah *Abdally*, the *Durany* king,¹⁷ whose country extends to the River Attek, the northern boundary of the Subah of Lahore. Those Duranys are very strict Musulmen; though at the same time, perhaps, the most lawless bloody-minded barbarians on the face of the earth. They saw with rage the progress of the Siques and particularly the manner in which they proceeded towards the Islam or Mohammedan Religion.¹⁸ For the Siques not only destroyed the mosques and profaned the places of worship, but also compelled many Musulmen to embrace their sect, which boasts of violent hatred to that of Mohammed. The Siques besides had at different times, while *Ahmad Shah Abdally* passed through their country in his excursions towards Indostan, severely molested him in his marches, and never failed cutting off his straggling parties, and laying hold of every opportunity of distressing him. All those reasons engaged *Ahmad Shah* to think of chastising them in earnest. He was then, by having jointly with all the Mohammedan Amrahs of this part of Indostan defeated the Mahrattas¹⁹ and drove them away to the Deccan, at liberty to turn his arms towards them; accordingly he entered their country with a powerful army. The Siques were in no shape able to face him; they were defeated wherever they presented themselves, and pursued with all the violence and spirit of religious

16. Lahore was conquered by the Sikhs in April 1765 while Multan had been overrun by them in the summer of 1764. (Qazi Nur Muhammed, *Jang Namah*, pp. 38, 41; Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, pp. 308-09).
17. The Sikhs had attracted the attention of Ahmed Shah Durrani in January 1752 when the Shah invaded India for the third time. In March 1758 the Sikhs and the Marathas drove out of Sirhind the Durrani governor, Abdus-Samad Khan, and a month later, they occupied Lahore, driving out Timur Shah, the son of Ahmed Shah.
18. The Sikhs never entertained any enmity against Islam or Mohammedans as such. To begin with, they had to fight against the tyranny of the Mughal rulers who happened to be Mohammedans, and later on to free their country from the clutches of the Afghans—also Mohammedans—who invaded India and wished to annex the Panjab to their dominions. If, at any time, Muslim mosques came to be attacked by them, it was because they were the centres and headquarters of *Jehad* (religious war) against the Sikhs in those days. Otherwise, there are instances of the Sikh Gurus and Sardars building mosques for their Muslim friends and subjects. There might have been some cases, though very rare, of mosques having been desecrated in retaliation for the desecration or demolition of Sikh places of worship by Mohammedans.
19. This evidently refers to the battle of Panipat fought on January 14, 1761.

enthusiasm.²⁰ They were forced to fly with their effects, families and cattle into the jungles and impervious woods with which the country abounds, and to abandon all the rest to the Duranys.²¹ They, however, still hovered round them at some distance with their cavalry and lost no opportunity of cutting off their stragglers and otherwise distressing them. *Ahmed Shah Abdally*, in the meantime, took their famous place of worship, which was immediately razed to the ground.²² The holy tank was filled up, and a price set on the Siques. Many pyramids were made of their heads, both at Lahore and other places, and in short it is certain that had *Ahmed Shah Abdally* remained three or four years in those parts, the sect would have been at an end though perhaps the country would have been depopulated by it, so very keen were the Duranies in their pursuit of them. Ahmed Shah, however, desirous he might be to retain those fine provinces in his possession, could not, it seems, spare so much time to reduce them effectually. The vast extent of his dominions which extended from the Caspian Sea to the Gulf of Sind (and to which he had no other right but from his sword and good fortune), joined to his long absence from home, made it necessary for him to return to quell some revolts which threatened his upper provinces. He therefore contented himself with appointing different Governors to rule the country, and having left a garrison of 4,000 or 5,000 men in Lahore he recrossed the Attek and continued his march towards Balk where some chiefs had thrown off their allegiance. The Siques immediately began to avail themselves of his absence, which many circumstances rendered much longer than he at first intended. They rose in arms everywhere and fell on the Duranies on all sides. They surrounded Lahore and after some time obliged the garrison to surrender at discretion.²³ They now retorted amply on the Duranies.

20. This took place on February 5, 1762, when the Sikhs suffered a very heavy loss of over ten thousand lives in a day. This disastrous calamity is known among the Sikhs as *Wadda Ghalughara* or the Great Holocaust.

21. This sentence is suggestive of a saying common among the people of these days :
What we eat and drink is ours ;
What remains belongs to Ahmad Shah.

22. This refers to the Sikh temple Darbar Sahib at Amritsar, now known as the Golden Temple, which was blown up with gun-power by Ahmad Shah Durrani on April 10, 1762.

23. Lahore was finally occupied by the Sikhs on April 16, 1765. Kabuli Mall was then the Governor of the province on behalf of Ahmad Shah and his nephew Amir Singh, in the absence of the Governor at Jammu, was compelled to surrender to the Sikhs.

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The mosques which had been rebuilt were demolished with every mark of indignity and washed with hog's blood. The Duranies were forced with their own hands to dig and restore the famous tank of *Ambar Sar*, which was soon brought to its ancient state and newly adorned with buildings. In short the Siques were now absolute masters, and having fully established their religion and national councils, they began to extend themselves to the southward and westward amongst their neighbours, most of whom they brought under contribution. From that time till *Ahmed Shah Abdally's* death,²⁴ which happened about eight or nine years ago, the Siques had several times to encounter with his forces, but *Ahmed Shah* never had it in his power to spare so much time as was necessary to reduce them completely, and was soon forced to relinquish that object.

Since his death and the accession of *Timur Shah*, his son, the Siques have been but little molested from that quarter. They have even been emboldened to take from him the city of Multan, which they possessed some time ; though they have been forced to relinquish it lately,²⁵ they have nevertheless retained the greatest part of that Subah, and *Timur Shah* seems either too indolent, or too much employed at home, to think of beginning a contest with them in earnest.

Such has been the rise and progress of the Siques to this day which must be attributed, not so much to their bravery, conduct or military knowledge, as to the anarchy and confusion that has desolated the empire, one may say, for these 60 or 70 years past, that is, ever since the death of that great *Aurangzeb* but more particularly from the weak government during the reigns of *Mahomed Shah*, *Ahmed Shah* and *Allumguir Sany*, the last of which may be cited as an example of the weakest and most wretched that ever was.

24. Ahmad Shah Durrani died on the Rajjab 20, 1186 A.H., October 16-17. And *Timur Shah* conquered Multan from the Sikhs in February 1780. These reference also help determine the date of the composition of this paper in the year 1780 as mentioned in footnote 35.

25. Colonel Polier seems to have been misinformed about the military skill and prowess of the Sikhs. The inquisitive reader is referred to *Qaazi Nur Muhammad's Jang Namah* wherein the author has devoted section XLI to the 'Bravery of the Sikhs.' The Qazi had come to India along with the army of anti-Sikh Baluch crusaders during the seventh Indian invasion (1764-65) of Ahmad Shah Durrani and was an eyewitness of all that he has recorded in the *Jang Namah*.

In their military capacity the Sikhs are far from being so formidable as they are generally represented, or as they might be. It is true they are in general exceedingly well mounted, that their horses and themselves will undergo much fatigues, and perform very expeditious marches, and that they have excellent matchlocks which carry a good way and which they manage on horse-back with tolerable execution : all that must be allowed them, and also that they are very abstemious and satisfied with what no other horsemen in India perhaps would put up with ; but when it is considered in what disorderly manner they fight, that they know not what it is to be in close order or to charge sword in hand, and that they never could yet be brought to face the Duranies, though 3 or 4 to 1,²⁶ it must be acknowledged that at best they are but the *Croates* of India, and indeed they resemble them very much in more than one point.

As for the Government of the Sikhs, it is properly an aristocracy, in which no pre-eminence is allowed except that which power and force naturally gives, otherwise all the chiefs, great or small, and even the poorest and most abject Sikhs, look on themselves as perfectly equal in all the public concerns and in the greatest Council or *Goormotta*²⁷ of the nation, held annually either at *Ambarsar, Lahore* or some other place. Everything is decided by the plurality of votes taken indifferently from all who choose to be present at it: In this Council or Diet all the public affairs are debated, such as alliances wars and the excursions intended to be made in the ensuing year. The contributions collected in the last expeditions are also duly accounted for and distributed among the chiefs in proportion to their forces; who, on their side, must take care to satisfy their dependants in their full proportion, who would, was it otherwise, soon quit them and address themselves to others. The chiefs are extremely numerous and some of them have at their command as far as 10,000 or 12,000 horses ; however, they generally are very inferior ; many have only 15 or 20 horses, and from that number up to 1,000 or 2,000. It is computed that their whole force, if joined together, would amount to nearly 200,000 horses, a power which would be truly formidable, did it act under one chief or one order. But divided as it is

26. *Gurmata* (*Gur-mata*) is, in fact, a resolution, a *mata*, passed in a council of the Sikhs in the presence of the *Guru* (*Granth Sahib*), it has at times been taken to mean a council (an assembly) of the Sikhs instead of a counsel.

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amongst 400 or 500 chiefs who all look on themselves as independent of each other, whose interests and views are almost all different, and perpetually jarring, it is much weakened thereby. It is true, in case of an invasion or foreign attack, they are bound to support one another as much as lays in their power, however, the spirit of independence is such that it is not without difficulty they can be prevailed on to act in concert, even for the public good. For in the war against *Ahmed Shah Abdally* it was but seldom that a greater force than 60,000 men could be brought together to oppose him ; though certainly the occasion called for their most strenuous exertions ; but in such times those only present themselves who have a great deal to lose. When out of their country, the Siques will indifferently fight for whoever pays them best, and their chiefs will engage some on each side of the question without the smallest hesitation or scruple. But when they are not retained in service, or are unemployed at home in disputes amongst themselves, they, particularly those on the borders, set off generally after the rains and make excursions in bodies of 10,000 horses or more on the neighbours. They plunder all they can lay their hands on, burn the towns and villages and do infinite mischief.²⁸ It is true they seldom kill in cold blood or make slaves ; however, when they meet with handsome male children and robustly made, they carry them away and adopt them. The cattle is their principal aim ; they carry them off in vast numbers and send them

27. During their incursions the Sikh sardars attacked either the territories of the Mughal or of the Ruhilas. The object was to rob the Mughal rulers of their harmful political power, and to so weaken them as to render them incapable of tyrannizing over their subjects, particularly the Sikhs themselves, who had suffered heavy persecution at their hands for about a hundred and fifty years beginning with the martyrdom of Guru Arjun in 1605, during the reign of Jehangir, to 1753 when a Mughal Governor of Lahore, Mir Mannu, sent out moving columns to exterminate them wherever found

The Ruhilas to the east of the River Jamuna were the chief Indian allies of the Afghan invaders who were responsible for so much of misery brought upon the people of the Panjab. Their harassment by the Sikhs, therefore indirectly contributed to the weakness of Ahmad Shah Durrani by distracting and diverting the support in men and munitions that would otherwise flow into the Afghan army to be more harmful to this country.

If the Sikhs had not incessantly carried on their struggle against the Mughals and hampered the progresss of Afghan domination in northern India, the Panjab could not have been freed from under their crushing yokes.

into their country own depriving by that means the wretched labourer and husbandman from the capacity of doing anything for himself afterwards. Thus they ruin and depopulate the finest provinces. To obviate those evils there is no other way except agreeing with one of their chiefs for a certain yearly tribute which they call *racky*,²⁸ in general a trifle will satisfy them, from two to five per cent on the revenues, particularly if at a distance ; and provided this is regularly paid, it is said no further hindrance or molestation will be received from them. On the contrary the chief, to whom the tribute or *racky* is paid, takes the district under his protection and is ready to fight against any of brethren who might think of disturbing it. This method has been adopted by most of the zemindars bordering on them, who at the same time not to trust implicitly to the good faith of those free-booters have taken care to fortify their towns and put themselves on a defensive footing ; without that, whole provinces would be a desert. The Siques possess an immediate tract of country, the whole *soubah* of Lahore, the greatest part of that of Multan and part of that of Delhi, including all the country called *Panjab*. They also carry their excursions through every part of the last *soubah*, and through part of that of Agra. Their own immediate possessions are exceedingly well cultivated, populous and rich ; the revenues in general taken in kind throughout and not in money, which is very favourable to the tiller. In short few countries can vie with theirs, particularly in this part of India.

The Siques are in general strong and well made, accustomed from their infancy to the most laborious life and the hardest fare; they make marches and undergo fatigues that will appear really astonishing. In their excursions they carry no tents or baggage with them, except perhaps a small tent for the principal chief; the rest shelter themselves under a blanket which serves them also in the cold weather, to wrap themselves in and which in a march covers their saddles. They have mostly two horses apiece, and some three; their horses are middle sized, but exceedingly good, strong and high spirited, and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Multan, noted for producing the best horses in Indostan, supply them amply and indeed they take the

28. The word *racky* or *rakhi* literally means protection, and was correctly applied to the tribute received by the Sikhs for the protection from external aggression guaranteed by them to the people paying it.

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greatest care to increase their numbers by all means in their power; and though that make merry on the demise of one of their brethren,²⁹ they condole and lament the death of a horse, thus shewing their value for an animal so necessary to them in their excursions.

As for the food of the Siques, it is the coarsest, and such as the poorest people in Hindostan use from necessity. Bread baked in ashes, soaked afterwards in a mash made of different kinds of pulse, is their best dish, and such as they seldom indulge themselves with, except when at full leisure; otherwise notches or grains hastily parched are all they care for. They abhor smoking of tobacco, for what reason I cannot find, but intoxicate themselves freely either with spirits or *hang*; a cup of the last they seldom fail taking at night after a fatigue. Their dress is extremely scanty a pair of blue drawers, a kind of chequered plaid worn partly round the middle and partly over the shoulder with a mean blue turban forms all their equipage. Their chiefs are distinguished by having some heavy gold bracelets on their wrists and sometimes a chain of the same metal round their turbans and by being mounted on better horses, otherwise no distinction appears amongst them.

The sect of the Siques has a strong taint of the Gentoo³⁰ religion; they venerate the cow, and abstain piously from killing or feeding on it, and they also pay some respect to the *devtas* or idols. But their great object of worship is with them their own saints, or those whom they have honoured with the name of *Gorou*. Those they invoke continually, and they seem to look on them as everything. *Wah-Gorou* repeated several times is their only symbol, from which the Musulmen have (not without reason) taxed them with being downright atheists.³¹ Their mode of initiating their converts is by making them drink out of a pan in which

- 29. The Sikhs do not make merry on the occasion of the death of a Sikh but they accept it as the Will of God and recite hymns from their scripture, the *Guru Granth Sahib*, in resiguation to it. 'Having been sent by him they come (into the world) and recalled by him they go back', says Guru Nanak. 'It is the right and privilege of the brave to die, if they die in an approved cause, says he.'
- 30. Corrupt form of Hindu, derisively used. The Sikhs have no belief in gods and goddesses (*devtas* and *devis*), nor do they venerate the cow, as mentioned in the text.
- 31. In calling the Sikhs atheists, Polier is writing his impressions on second hand information given to him by those who seem to have purposely misrepresented the Sikh religion to him. The fact that they repeat *Wahguru* (*Wah-Gorou*), the name of God, is enough to prove them to be theists. The Sikhs are staunch believers in the existence and fatherhood of God who, according to them, is Self-existent, Omniscient and Omnipresent and is the Creator of the universe.

the feet of those present have been washed,³² meaning by that, I presume, to abolish all those distinctions of caste which so much encumber the Gentoos; they also steep in it, particularly for a Musulman, the tusks or bones of a boar and add some of the blood of that animal to it. This with repeating the symbol to *Wah-Gorou*, wearing an iron bracelet on one arm and letting the hair of the head and beard grow, forms the whole mystery of their religion, if such a filthy beastly ceremony can be dignified with that name.³³ They have also started pilgrimages both to the Ganges³⁴ and their famous tank at *Ambarsar* where at fixed times they wash and perform some trifling ceremonies, invoking at the same time their *Gorou*.

Such are the Siques, the terror and plague of this part of India, a nation and power well calculated for doing mischief and encouraging rebellion in the zemindars or cultivators, who often follow steps at first with a view of saving themselves and afterwards from the pleasure of independence, and indeed it is that which makes them so troublesome, for they begin to have connections in almost all the parts they visit on their excursions, and if they are not attacked soon in their own proper provinces, it is much to be feared their tenets and manners will be adopted by all the zemindars of the *soubah* of *Delhi*, and part of *Agra*. It is, however, imagined that so soon as *Najjaf Khan* is clear of the Matchery Rajah,³⁵ he means to turn all his forces towards the Siques, and at least to drive them from this side of Sirhind, which he may I think easily do, though perhaps it would not be safe for him to go

32. The ceremony of initiation is also misrepresented. In fact, it is clean water, mixed with sugar and stirred in a pure iron pan with a double-edged dagger, with hymns from Sikh scripture recited over it, that is given to the initiates to drink as a part of the ceremony. This is called *Khanda da Amrit* or nectar of the double-edged sword.
33. Nothing of this kind was done in the case of Muslims converted to Sikhism. To say that the tusk or bone of a boar was steeped in the consecrated (*Khanda da Amrit*) or that some blood of that animal was added to it particularly for Muslim converts to Sikh faith is nothing but an imaginary fib of the informants of Col. Polier. It is not improbable that Col. Polier himself had also his own prejudices against the Sikhs which have marred the objectivity of his study presented in this paper.
34. The Sikhs do not hold the Ganges or any other river as sacred, nor is it a place of pilgrimage for them.
35. This reference to the campaign of *Mirza Najjaf Khan*, the Mughal *Mir Bakshi* then going on against *Rao Raja Partap Singh* of *Machoi*, read along with footnote No. 24, determines the date of the writing of this paper as A.D. 1780.

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farther, except Timur Shah should on his side attack them also across the *Attek*, then indeed and by remaining a few years in the centre of their country they might be effectually reduced. The Siques make no account of infantry except for the defence of their forts, and have no artillery; their rapid motions will not allow of their having any with them, though they are not ignorant of the effect of it, when well served, which they take care to avoid as much as possible. I have nothing more to add to this account except a pretended prophecy, which the Siques say has been delivered down by some of their *Gorou*, that the Siques after remaining sometime the terror of India would at last be finally destroyed by white men coming from the westward. Who are to be those white men, time must discover, but the Siques themselves think the Europeans will fulfil the prophecy,³⁶ and are meant by it.

II

THE SIKHS

Extract from a letter from Major Polier at Delhi to Colonel Ironside at Belgram, May 22, 1776

The king's dominions are bounded on the north, NW. and WNW. by the Siques: to the NE. and within the Doab Zabita Chan possesses a large tract of country which heretofore belonged to the king, but is now, by the late treaty, finally made over to him.

As for the Seikhs, that formidable aristocratic republick, I may safely say, it is only so to a weak defenceless state, such as this is. It is properly the snakes with many heads. Each zemindar who from

36. A prophecy of this type in a slightly different form, predicting the coming of Europeans, is ascribed to Guru Tegh Bahadur, who is said to have told Emperor Aurangzeb in 1675 in answer to the charge of looking in the direction of Imperial *zanana*: 'I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *pardas* and destroy thine empire (Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Preface, xviii).

In the prophecy mentioned by Polier in 1780 in the text above, the object of destruction has been changed from the Mughal empire to the power of Sikhs. The change has evidently been made by some well-wisher of the decaying Mughal empire and an enemy of the rising power of the Sikhs.

The prophecy recorded by Macauliffe was ascribed by some people to the fertile imagination of some clever Englishman during the mutiny of 1857 to win the sympathy and support of the Sikhs against the protagonist of Mughal rule in India. But the reference to the prophecy in this paper written seventy-seven years before the mutiny is rather intriguing. It, however, explodes the above theory.

the Attock¹ to Hansey Issar,² and to the gates of Delhi lets his beard grow, cries *Wah gorow*,³ eats pork,⁴ wears an iron bracelet, drinks *bang*, abominates the smoking of tobacco and can command from ten followers on horseback to upwards, sets up immediately for a Seik Sirdar, and as far as is in his power aggrandizes himself at the expense of his weaker neighbours ; if Hindu or Mussulman so much the better ; if not, even amongst his own fraternity will he seek to extend his influence and power ; only with this difference, in their intestine divisions, from what is seen everywhere else, that the husbandman and labourer, in their own districts, are perfectly safe and unmolested, let what will happen round about them.

From this small sketch it may easily be conceived that the Seiks are much less formidable than they are represented. It is true that they join together when invaded as was the case when Abdallah⁵ passed through their country. But notwithstanding they had assembled and immense body of cavalry, extremely well mounted, yet they never presumed to make a single charge on the Durrany army, or even on detachments ; and considering their irregularity and want of discipline and subordination, it was well for them, I think, they did not. They satisfied themselves in making a kind of hussar⁶ war of it, cutting off stragglers and intercepting provisions. In this they excel. To say the truth, they are indefatigable, mounted on the best horses that India can afford, each carries a matchlock of a large bore, which they handle dexterously enough and with which they annoy considerably, avoiding, at the same time, going in large bodies or approaching too near. Such is their way of making war, which can only appear dangerous to the wretched Hindustani troops of these quarters, who tremble as much at the name of a Seik, as people used to do, not long ago, at the mention of Mahrattas. But what is more to be

1. Attock or Atak is the local name of the river Indus (Sindh) in the north-western frontier province of Pakistan. There is also a town with a fort of the same name on the eastern bank of the river at a point where the Grand Trunk Road crosses it.
2. Hansi, Hissar.
3. *Wah-Gorou* or *Wahiguru*, a name of God, meaning the Wonderful Lord.
4. Eating of pork or any other kind of meat is not particularly encouraged amongst the Sikhs, much less considered an essential part of the Sikh diet. The use of *bhang* prevalent amongst the majority of *Nihang* Sikhs is positively looked down upon as undesirable.
5. Ahmed Shah Abdali or Durrani.
6. Light cavalry.

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admired is that those Seik Sirdars, whose territories border on the King's were but very lately of the Jauts and of their case and tribe, under which domination had they remained, no one would have thought of them ; but now that they have put on their iron bracelet, fifty of them are enough to keep at bay a whole battalion of the King's forces, such as they are. This shows the force of prejudice and the value of military reputation. Such are the immediate neighbours of the King.

Five hundred of Nujhaf Khan's horse dare not encounter fifty Seik horsemen ; and yet the last are as despicable a set of creatures as any that can be imagined ! On the whole, was it not Sombre's party, and Letafet's forces, Nujhaf Khan would not be able to stand his ground half an hour; and yet this is The Mighty Chief !

III

A CHARACTER OF THE SIEKS

(From the Observations of Colonel Polier and Mr. George Forster)

The Sieks are in general strong and well made ; accustomed from their infancy to the most laborious life and hardest fare, they make marches and undergo fatigue that really appear astonishing. In their excursions they carry no tents or luggage, except perhaps a small tent for the principal officer ; the rest shelter themselves under blankets which serve them also in cold weather to wrap themselves in, and which, on a march, cover their saddles. They have commonly two, some of them three, horses each, of the middle size, strong, active and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Moultan, noted for a breed of the best horses in Hindustan, afford them an ample supply ; and indeed they take great care to increase it by all means in their power. Though they make merry on the demise of any of their brethren,¹ they mourn for the death of a horse, thus showing their love of an animal so necessary to them in their professional capacity. The food of the Sieks is of the coarsest kind, and such as the poorest people in Hindustan use from necessity. Bread baked in ashes, and soaked in a mash made of different sorts of pulse, is the best dish, and such as they never indulge in but when at full leisure ; otherwise vetches and tares, hastily parched, is all they care for. They abhor smoking tobacco, for what reason I cannot discover, but intoxicate

1. See footnote 29 in 1.

themselves freely with spirits of their own country manufacture : a cup of the last they never fail taking after a fatigue at night. Their dress is extremely scanty ; a pair of long blue drawers,² and a kind of chequered plaid, a part of which is fastened round the waist, and the other thrown over the shoulder, with a mean turban, form their clothing and euiage. The chiefs are distinguished by wearing some heavy gold bracelets³ on their wrists and sometimes a chain of the same metal round their turbans, and by being mounted on better horses ; otherwise no distinction appears amongst them. The chiefs are numerous, some of whom have the command of ten or twelve thousand cavalry ; but this power is confined to a small number, the inferior officers maintaining from one to two thousand, and many not more than twenty or thirty horses, a certain quota of which is furnished by the chiefs, the greater part being the individual property of the horseman.

From the spirit of independence so invariably infused amongst them their mutual jealousy and rapacious roving temper, the Sieks at this day are seldom seen co-operating in national concert ; but actuated by the influence of an individual ambition or private distrust, they pursue such plans only as coincide with these motives. An example of their forces being engaged in opposite interests has been noticed in the case of Maha Singh, who succoured the Rajah of Jumbo against the Siek party who had invaded his country. Before the chiefs of the mountaineers' country at the head of the Panjab were reduced to a tributary state, severe depredations were committed on them by the Sieks who plundered and destroyed their habitations, carried off the cattle, and, if strong and well formed, the male children, who were made converts to the faith of Nanock. But since the payment of a fixed tribute has been stipulated, which does not amount to more than five per cent of the revenue, the mountaineers are little molested, except when the Sieks have been called upon to adjust their domestic quarrels.

The extensive and fertile territories of the Sieks, and their attachment and application, in the midst of warfare, to the occupations of agriculture, must evidently produce a large revenue. The district dependent on Lahore, in the reign of Aurangzeb, produced, according

2. Called *kachha* or *kachhehra kachahira*

3. Called Kada worn on festive occasions in many parts of the Punjab up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

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to Mr. Bernier, a revenue of two hundred forty-six lacks and ninety-five thousand rupees ; and we are naturally led to suppose, from the industrious skill of the Sieks in the various branches of cultivation, that no great decrease of that amount can have taken place since the Panjab has fallen into their possession.

An extensive and valuable commerce is also maintained in their country, which has been extended to distant quarters of India, particularly to the provinces of Bengal and Behar, where many Siek merchants of opulence at this time reside. The Omichand, who took so active, though unfortunate, a share in the revolution which the English effected in Bengal, was a Siek, as is his adopted son, who is now an inhabitant of Calcutta. Merchants of every nation or sect, who may introduce a traffic into their territories, or are established under their government, experience a full protection and enjoy commercial privileges in common with their own subjects. All the same, it must be noticed that such immunities are granted only to those remain amongst them or import wares for the immediate supply of the Siek markets. But the foreign traders, even travellers who attempt to pass through the Panjab, are often plundered and usually ill-treated; in the event of no molestations being offered to people of this description, the escape is ever spoken of with a degree of joyful surprise, and a thanksgiving is offered to Providence for the singular escape. This conduct, inimical to the progress of civilization and an impediment to the influx of wealth, proceeds from an extreme jealousy of strangers, added to a rapacity of temper, which make them averse to the encouragement of any scheme in whose success they do not immediately participate.

The Sieks are not rigorous in their stipulation with the Mohammedan proselytes, who if they abstain from beef's flesh (which is held in equal abhorrence by the Sieks as by the Hindus), and perform the more ostensible duties, as burning their dead, and preserving the hair of the head, an indulgent latitude is granted in all other articles of the creed of Nanock.⁴ The Mohammedans who reside in the Panjab

4. Grant of full protection and commercial privileges to merchants of every nation or sect as mentioned in the text above is not reconcilable with the alleged plunder and ill-treatment of foreign traders passing through the Panjab. The plunder of foreign traders by some lawless marauders in a few rare cases in those unsettled days is not improbable, but that could not be generalized.
5. Rules of Sikh conduct, called the *rahit* or *rahita* in their terminology, are the same for all Sikhs and are applicable to all converts whether from amongst the Hindus or Mohammedans.

are subject to occasional oppression, and often to the insults of the lower classes of the people ; amongst whom it is an uncommon practice to defile the places of worship by throwing in the carcases of hogs and other things held impure by the Mussulman law. The Mohammedans are also prohibited from announcing their stated time of prayer, which conformably to their usage, is proclaimed in a loud tone of voice. A Siek, who in the chase shall have slain a wild hog, is frequently known to compel the first Mohammedan to meet to carry to his home the body of the animal ; and, no being initiated into the rites of their religion, the Sieks will sometimes require Mohammedan convert to bind on his arm the tusk of a bore,⁶ that by this act of national impurity he may more avowedly testify a renunciation and contempt of his former faith. The facts sufficiently mark the haughty and insulting demeanour, which, with few deviations, forms a prominent feature in the character of the military Sieks : but we may also ascribe a certain portion of their severe and contumelious treatment of Mohammedans to a remembrance of recent injuries.

The discordant interests which agitate the Siek nation, and the constitutional genius of the people, must incapacitate them, during the existence of these causes, from becoming a formidable defensive power ; nor are they invested with that species of executive strength which is necessary to advance and establish a distant conquest. In the defence and recovery of their country the Sieks displayed a courage of the most obstinate kind, and manifested a perseverance, under the pressure of calamities, which bear an ample testimony of native resource, when the common danger had roused them to action, and gave but one impulse to their spirit. Should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sieks to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may see some ambitious chief, led on by his genius and success, and, absorbing the power of his associates, display from the ruins of their commonwealth the standard of monarchy. The page of history is filled with the like effects, springing from like

6. The suppression or ill-treatment of Muslims seems to have been very much exaggerated and may be taken as based on wrongful information given to him by his prejudiced informants. Colonel Polier himself also seems to have been considerably influenced by the anti-Sikh propaganda of the then interested parties.

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causes. Under such form of Government, I have little hesitation in saying that the Sieks would be soon advanced to the first rank amongst the native princes of Hindustan and would become a terror of the surrounding states.⁷

7. This prophecy of George Forster came to be fulfilled in the person of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) who created a monarchy, benevolent and republican in its character, out of the various Sikh Misals and Muslim States of the Panjab towards the end of the eighteenth century (Cf. George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, i. p. 295).

The Sikhs and their College at Patna

BY CHARLES WILKINS

INTRODUCTION

Sir Charles Wilkins, the writer of the following observation on *The Sikhs and their College at Patna* was an eminent orientalist of his times (1749 or 1750-1836). He was the son of the famous Walter Wilkins and was born in 1749 or 1750. At the age of about twenty-one he arrived in Bengal in 1770 as a writer in the East India Company's service. Like most of the Englishmen of those days, he was highly interested in the study of oriental languages. He devoted his leisure hours to the study of Sanskrit and was the first Englishman to acquire a thorough knowledge of that language and published a grammar of it in 1779. Under the patronage of the then Governor General, Warren Hastings, he translated the Hindu religio-philosophical work, *Bhagvadgītā* and deciphered many Sanskrit inscriptions. He himself prepared the first Bengali and Persian types and set up a printing-press at Calcutta for the oriental languages. He was the right hand of Sir William Jones of revered memory in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal (later the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal), now the Asiatic Society, at Calcutta and establishing the well-known series of the *Asiatick Researches*.

After sixteen years' stay in India he returned to England in 1786 and published his translations of the Sanskrit book of fables, the *Hitopdesha*, and of Kalidas's drama *Shakuntala*. In 1800 he was made the custodian of the vast collection of oriental manuscripts taken away from the library of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam, and he was the first Librarian of the India House Library, London.

He was also a scholar of Islamic literature and, in 1806, he edited Richardson's *Persian and Arabic Dictionary* which speaks so highly of the depth of Wilkin's learning. Two years later in 1808 he produced another Sanskrit Grammer which was an improvement or rather a re-written, edition of his first work on the subject. In addition to these works he wrote a large number of valuable papers on Indian subjects which created a good deal of interest in England about the people of this country.

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For his deep scholarship and services to the cause of literature, the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of the Doctor of Civil Law (D.C.L.), and the Royal Asiatic Society of Literature gave him their medal as "*Princeps Literature Sanskritae*," and he was elected as an Associate of the French Institute. He was also an LL.D. (Legum Doctor—Doctor of Laws) and an F. R. S. (Fellow of the Royal Society). King George IV was pleased to Knight him in 1833 and give him the badge of the Guelphic Order. Three years later, Sir Charles Wilkins died on May 13, 1836, laden with honours and international fame as a pioneer scholar of oriental literature.

These observations of Sir Charles on *the Sikhs and their College at Patna* were written for the Asiatic Society from Benares on March 1, 1781, after he had paid a visit to the Sikh temple Takht-Sahib (popularly known as *Harmandir Sahib*), the birth-place of Guru Gobind Singh, on his way to that city, and were published in the *Asiatick Researches* or Transactions of the Society, 1788. This is the first known account of the Sikh institutions written by an Englishman, the only other accounts in English of any importance written before this being from the pen of a French-Swiss Gentleman Major (afterwards Colonel) Antonie Louis Henri Polier (1741-1795) written in 1780 as a memoir, and in 1776 in his letter of May 22 from Delhi to Colonel Ironside at Belgram.

I consider these observations of the learned writer interesting and worthy of the attention of the students of history and religion, and this is my only apology for placing them before the readers after the lapse of over a century and a half.

It appears that like most of the other Sikh temples in the country in those days, at Patna the Patna temple also was running a flourishing *Pathshala* under the guidance of the priests. It is, perhaps, therefore, that he calls the temple a 'College.'

There may be another reason also. The Schools and Colleges were then called *Dharamshalas* or *Pathshalas*. The Gentleman with whom Wilkins happened to be conversing about the Sikhs might have called the temple a 'Sikh *Dharamshala*,' as the Sikh temples are so often called. This might also have led Wilkins to suppose that it was a Sikh College.

It is most gratifying to find that the views of the Sikhs in respect of their temples were as modern in the eighteenth century as men of

twentieth century are expected to hold. Every man of whatever caste or creed was allowed to enter them. When Wilkins asked the Sikhs present there "if I might ascend into the hall. They said it was a place of worship open to me and to all men." There were no restrictions on the admission of any one into the Sikh brotherhood, if he were willing to be initiated into it. Wilkins tells us that they offered to admit him into it.

While editing I have made no changes whatever in the original and have also retained the old original spellings, however queer they may appear today. Wherever necessary, I have given my explanations in the footnotes.

Khalsa College, Amritsar
December 31, 1939

Ganda Singh

AUTHOR'S PREFATORY LETTER

The Secretary to the Asiatick Society
Sir,

Before I left *Calcutta*, gentleman, with whom I chanced to be conversing of the sect of people who are distinguished from the worshippers of *Brahm* and the followers of *Mahommed* by the appellation *Seek*, informed me that there was a considerable number of them settled in the city of *Patna*, where they had a College for teaching the tenets of their philosophy. As *Patna* was in my way to *Banaris*, I no sooner arrived there than I enquired after the College, and I was presently conducted it; and I now request you will please lay before the Society the few observations and enquiries which a single visit of about two hours could admit of my making. If such as they are they should hereafter be found useful either as a clue to guide another in his researches in the same path, or to add to some future account to render it more complete, my end in troubling you to lay it before the Society is fully answered.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
Sir,

Banaris, 1st March, 1781 Your most obedient humble servant,
Charles Wilkins.

The *Seeks* And Their College At *Patna*

I found the College¹ of the *Seeks*, situated in one of the

1. The *Gurdwara Harmandir Sahib*, called *Takht Patna Sahib*, the birth place of Guru Gobind Singh. The Guru was born here on Poh Sudi 7, 1723 Bikrami, December 22, 1666 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.

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narrow streets of Patna, at no very considerable distance from the Custom-house. I was permitted to enter the outward gate, but, as soon as I came to the steps which led into the Chapel, or public-hall, I was civilly accosted by two of the Society. I asked them if I might ascend into the hall. They said it was a place of worship open to me and to all men ; but at the same time, intimated that I must take off my shoes. As I consider this ceremony in the same light as uncovering my head upon entering any of our temples dedicated to the Deity, I did not hesitate to comply, and I was then politely conducted into the hall and seated upon a carpet, in the midst of the assembly, which was so numerous as almost to fill the room. The whole building² forms a square of about forty feet, raised from the ground about six or eight steps. The hall is in the centre, divided from four other apartments by wooden arches upon pillars of the same materials, all neatly carved. The room is rather longer than it is broad. The floor was covered with a neat carpet, and furnished with six or seven desks, on which stood as many of the books of their law ; and the walls, above the arches, were hung with European looking glasses in gold frames, and pictures of Mussulman Princes, and Hindoo Deities. A little room, which, as you enter, is situated at the left hand end of the hall is the chancel, and is furnished with an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which was laid a round black shield over a long broad sword, and, on either side, a *chowry* of peacock feathers mounted in silver handle. The altar was raised a little above the ground in a declining position. Before it stood a low kind of throne plated with silver ; but rather too small to be useful ; above it were several flower pots and rose-water bottles, and on the left hand stood three *Urns* which appeared to be copper, furnished with notches to receive the donations of the charitable. There stood also near the altar, on a low desk, a great book³ of folio size, from which some portions are

2. The description given by Charles Wilkins is of the old building of the Gurdwara which does not exist at present. It was burnt, I was told during my stay there in 1933, somewhere in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the present building was erected by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and other Sikh Chiefs and Sardars. During the earthquake of January 1934 the buildings of the Gurdwara were rudely shaken and some of them fell to the ground. But, strangely enough, no serious harm was done to the Gurdwara proper. The Sikh Community has taken in hand the reconstruction of the demolished portions and the northern side has now been completed with the funds raised by the Chief Khalsa Dewan, Amritsa, and other institutions and *Sangats*.
3. *Guru Granth Sahib*, the sacred scripture of the Sikhs.

daily read in their divine service. It was covered with a blue mantle, on which were painted, in silver letters, some select passage of their law.

After I had a long conversation with two of the congregation, who had politely seated themselves, on each side of me, on the carpet, and whom I found very intelligent, notice was given that it was noon and the hour of divine service. The congregation arranged themselves upon the carpet, on each side of the hall, so as to leave a space before the altar from end to end. The great book, desk, and all, was brought, with some little ceremony from the altar ; and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man, with a reverend silver beard, kneeled down before the desk with his face towards the altar; and on one side of him sat a man with a small drum, and two or three with cymbals. The book was now opened, and the old man began to chant to the tune of the drums and the cymbals ; and at the conclusion of every verse, most of the congregation joined chorus in a response, with countenances exhibiting great marks of joy. Their tones were by no means harsh ; and the time was quick ; and I learnt that the subject was a Hymn in praise of the Unity, the Omnipresence, and the Omnipotence of the Deity. I was singularly delighted with the gestures of the old man; I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy, whilst he turned about from one to another, as it were, be speaking their assents to those truths which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth. The Hymn being concluded, which consisted of about twenty verses, the whole congregation got up and presented their faces with joined hands towards the alter, in the attitude of prayer. A young man stood forth, and, with a loud voice and distinct accent, solemnly pronounced a long prayer or kind of liturgy, at certain priods of which all the people joined in a general response, saying *Wa Gooroo*.⁴ They prayed against temptation ; for grace to do good ; and for the general good of mankind ; and a particular blessing to the *Seeks* ; and for the safety of those who at that time were on their travels. This prayer was followed by a short blessing from the old man, and an invitation to the assembly to partake of a friendly feast. The book was then closed and restored to its place at the altar, and the people being seated as before , two men entered bearing a large iron caldron called

4. *Wahiguru*, God; also translated as 'Glory to these, O Lord !'

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curray,⁵ just taken from the fire, and placed it in the centre of the hall upon a low stool. These were followed by others with five or six dishes, some of which were of silver, and a large pile of leaves sewed together with fibres in the form of plates. One of these plates was given to each of the company without distinction, and the dishes being filled from the caldron, their contents were served out till every one had got his share : myself was not forgotten ; and, as I was resolved not to give them the smallest occasion for offence, I ate my portion. It was a kind of sweetmeat,⁶ of the consistence of soft brown sugar, composed of flour and sugar mixed up with clarified butter, which is called *Ghee*. Had not the *Ghee* been rancid, I should have relished better. We were next served with a few sugar plums ; and here ended the feast and the ceremonies of the day. They told me the religious part of the ceremony was daily repeated five time. I now took my leave, inviting some of the principal men amongst them who were about to return to their own country through *Banaris*, to pay me a visit.

In the course of the conversation I was engaged in with the two *Seeks* before the service. I was able to gather the following circumstances. That the founder of their faith was called *Naneek Sah*, who flourised about four⁷ hundred years ago at *Punjab*, and who, before his apostasy, was a *Hindoo* of the *Kshetry* or military tribe ; and that his body disappeared as the *Hindoos* and *Mussulmans* were disputing for it, for upon their removing the cloth that covered it, it was gone. That he left behind him a book, composed by himself,⁸ in verse and the language of *Punjab*, but a character partly of his own invention,⁹ which teaches the doctrines of the faith he had established. That they called

5. *Karahi*.

6. *Karah Prasad*.

7. This should be 'about three hundred to two hundred fifty years.' Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, lived from 1469 to 1539 A.D.

8. Here Wilkins evidently refers to the *Guru Granth Sahib*. The whole of it was not composed by Guru Nanak. In addition to the compositions of the Gurus, first to the fifth and the ninth (with a *Shaloka* of the tenth Guru, as is commonly believed), it embodies the compositions of several other saints, Muslims and Hindus, and even Sudras, of both sexes.

9. This view held by the Sikhs as early as 1781, when Wilkins visited Patna, lends further support to those who hold that Gurmukhi characters were invented, or perfected in their present forms, by Guru Nanak himself and not by Guru Anged, the Second Guru.

this character, in honour of their founder, *Gooroo-Mookhe* : from the mouth of the preceptor. That this book, of which that standing near the altar, and several others in the hall, were copies, teaches that there is but one God; Omnipotent and Omnipresent, filling all space and pervading all matter: and that He is to be worshiped and invoked. That there will be day of retribution, when virtue will be rewarded and vice punished (I forgot to ask in what manner); that it not only commands universal toleration, but forbids murder, theft, and such other deeds as are, by the majority of the mankind, esteemed crimes against society; and inculcates the practice of all the virtues, but particularly universal philanthropy, and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers. This is all my short visit would permit me to learn of this book. It is a folio volume, containing about four or five hundred pages.

They told me further, that some years after this book of *Naneek Sah* had been promulgated, another¹⁰ made its appearance, now held in almost as much esteem as the former. The name of the author has escaped my memory; but they favoured me with an extract from the book itself in praise of the Deity. The passage had struck my ear on my first entering the hall when the students were all engaged in reading. From the similarity of the language to the *Hindoovee*,¹¹ and many *Sanscrit* words, I was able to understand a good deal of it, and I hope, at some future period, to have the honour of laying a translation of it before the Society. They told me I might have copies of both their books, if I would be at the expence of transcribing them.

I next enquired why they were called *Seeks*, and they told me it was a word borrowed from one of the commandments of the founder which signifies "Learn thou"; and it was adopted to distinguish the sect soon after he disappeared. The word, as is well known, has the same import in the *Hindoovee*.

I asked them what were the ceremonies used in admitting a proselyte. A person having shown a sincere inclination to renounce his former opinions, to any five or more *Seeks* assembled together, in any place, as well on the highway as in a house of worship, they send to first shop where sweetmeats are sold and procure a small quantity

10. Evidently, the *Dasam Granth*, also called the *Daswin Padshahi da Granth*.

11. Hindi, Devnagri.

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of a particular sort which is very common, and as I recollect, they call *Batasa*, and having diluted it in pure water, they sprinkle some of it on the body, and into the eyes of the convert, whilst one of the best instructed repeats to him in any languages with which he is conversant the chief canons of their faith, exacting from him a solemn promise to abide by them the rest of his life. This is the whole of the ceremony.

The new convert may then choose a *Gooroo*,¹² or preceptor, to teach him in the language of their scripture, who first gives him the alphabet to learn, and so leads him on, by slow degrees, until he wants no further inscription. They offered to admit me into their Society; but I declined the honor; contenting myself with the alphabet which they told me to guard as the apple of my eye, as it was a sacred character. I find it differs but little from the *Devnagur*.¹³ The number, order and powers of the letters are exactly the same. The language itself is a mixture of *Persian*, *Arabic* and some *Sanskrit*, grafted upon the provincial dialect of *Punjabi*, which is a kind of *Hindoovee*, or, as it is vulgarly called by us, *moors*.

12. The word *Gooroo* (Guru) here is used in the sense of *Ustad* or teacher.

13. The *Devnagri*, *Hindi* or *Sanskrit* Character.

Simla to Ferozepore

George Parbury

The period of the Author's residence at Simla, was one of considerable public excitement. Reports of disasters were daily arriving, each more alarming than its predecessor; that Sir Wm. Macnaghten was cooped up in Cabul, threatened on all sides, the people of the city openly talking of the approaching murder of Shah Soojah and his supporters, and saying that ten thousand additional troops could alone save them¹—that the Nepalese were within a few days' march of the British-Indian frontier, and had actually taken prisoners more than one adventurous traveller who had penetrated to the snowy range—that the Sikhs had commenced hostilities in support of Dost Mahomed Khan—and indeed numerous others. At this time, however, the retaking of Khelat, the unfortunate termination of Major Clibborn's expedition for the relief of Captain Brown at Kahun, the inauspicious turn political matters were taking at the court of Lahore, and the reappearance of Dost Mahomed strongly supported, all combined, compelled the government to adopt active measures, among which, was the suspension of furlough leaves, except in cases of sickness. This step, coupled with the feeling generally prevalent, that imminent danger would attend the passage of the Indus, deprived the writer of more than one anticipated companion in his route homeward. Though energetically warned of the hazard he ran in passing through the Sikh and Beloochee territories, he could not make up his mind to abandon the plan he had so long contemplated, and accordingly, having no alternative but proceeding alone, he bade adieu to the hospitable station on the 24th of October.

Extracted from George Parbury, *Handbook for India and Egypt, comprising the narrative of a journey from Calcutta to England*, London, 1842, pp. 149-204.

1. That these rumours were not altogether groundless, subsequent events have, in a remarkable but most melancholy manner, confirmed. Unfortunately, we have yet to learn the true origin of the late disastrous insurrection, but it can scarcely be doubted, that had such caution been duly exercised, as was imperatively called for in a country like Afghanistan, many of the terrible calamities which have befallen our arms, would not have occurred.

SIMLA TO FEROZEPORE

The details given at the commencement of the last chapter, make it unnecessary to trace the journey from Simla to the plains; it is almost equally needless to dwell upon the route thence to Loodianna, since, with the exception of that to Ferozepore, which succeeds it, it is one of the most uninteresting to be found in India.

The distance is eighty-three miles, and occupies by dawk twenty-four hours; from Bahr to Pinjore and Munnymajra, it follows the old road; but thence, in lieu of taking the circuitous one by Umballa, another has been recently opened by the way of Khoor, Mornda, Khoomanno. Ludna, and Gindeealee, thereby saving some thirty miles. For this and many other benefits, the travelling public are indebted to the indefatigable and able agent to the Governor-General, Mr. G.R. Clerk.

This route leads through the village of Mornda, until lately, one of the protected Sikh States, but which has just lapsed to the East India Company, and bids fair shortly to become a considerable town. A fine bazaar is nearly completed, consisting of several streets at right angles with each other; the facades of all the shops are of brick, and correspond in style, each with its niches for lamps, in the true Oriental fashion. With this exception, the other stages passed during this journey are unworthy of being named, consisting principally of mud-hutted villages.

It would be unfair to condemn the road, considering it has so recently been opened; but it cannot be concealed, that not one mile out of twenty is entitled to that civilized term, the bearers having to wade through deep sand, ploughed fields, and thick jungle. There is nothing, even in the people, to excite the traveller's curiosity; they, however, come out from every hovel to stare at him. In personal appearance, they vary very little from those met with between Delhi and the Hills, though the women, if they do not actually lack that modesty so perceptible in those of the neighbourhood of the imperial city, at all events fail to show it.

The origin of Loodianna as a military outpost is thus given by Hamilton :—“In consequence of the extension of the British possessions in 1803 to the banks of the Sutledge, the line of defence against the Sikhs became much narrowed, and Lord Lake foretold that a small corps, well stationed in that quarter, would effectually protect the Doab and adjoining provinces against the incursions of that tribe. Loodianna was accordingly selected and fortified, and, in 1808, made

the head station of a brigade sufficiently strong both to cover the protected Sikh chiefs, and impose respect on those situated north of the river."

Beneath the political agent's mansion, is the old bed of the Sutledge, the river itself now flowing at some miles distance; an insignificant stream occupies a small space of it, hardly sufficing to float a few boats and provide the means of lavation to the host of washermen who throng its banks. In the height of the rains only is it connected with the main stream; which, it is not improbable, may in course of time return to its old channel, when it will be the fate of the handsome structure overhanging it to be undermined and washed away. On the other side of the bed, the remains of a garden, belonging to a former Resident, evince the care which it previously experienced; several specimens of the poplar, a most uncommon tree in India, rearing their heads there from. The soil of Loodianna is extremely sandy, considerable annoyance being in consequence felt by its inhabitants during the prevalence of wind. The cantonments are said to be badly situated, and by far too confined, evincing want of foresight in whoever planned them, as it might have been reasonably supposed that a large force would be necessary at some future time to occupy so commanding a post. The bazaar is extensive, and much business appears to be carried on there.

Between Loodianna and Ferozepore, the junction of the Beas, or Hyphasis, with the Sutledge takes place, and the latter name is retained for both.

The journey from Loodianna to Ferozepore, seventy-nine miles, requires twenty-two hours for its performance, and is quite as uninteresting as the preceding; the same remarks being applicable to it in every respect, this wanting even the interest excited by a rising place like Mornda. Not being considered altogether safe, a mounted and well-armed escort, provided by Government, attends the dawk traveller; being relieved with the bearers at the following seven stations viz., Ghowsپore, Mana Ka Kote, Tehara, Dhurmкote Tulwundee, Mehrsingwala and Chingalee.

Ferozepore appears at a distance only a collection of mud walls in the midst of a sandy desert. It has, however, latterly occupied a conspicuous place in Indian political history, not only as the final rendezvous of the various corps forming the Bengal column of the Army of the Indus, previously to their departure to Afghanistan; but as the scene of the memorable meeting, between Lord Auckland, and the

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Governor General of India, and the late Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh. The gorgeousness of the display then made, the great political importance of the meeting, and the benefits to the British Indian Government, which resulted there from, are facts which do not require to be enlarged upon here. The disappointment which its appearance will cause to military men will probably be lessened, when they reflect that it is only four or five years since the first British residence was erected therein, it having, within that time only, lapsed (like Mornda) to the East India Company. Under the present most active and intelligent Political Agent, Captain Lawrence, there can be no doubt of its speedily becoming a town of that magnitude and importance which should befit the frontier city of such a power as the East India Company, and the nearest military station to our powerful Punjaubee neighbours.

Its constant dust, in which respect it is worse even than Loodianna, will, however, always make it in some degree an unpleasant residence; for with the use of every artificial means which ingenuity can devise, it is impossible to be otherwise than constantly annoyed by it; moreover, it is subject to an almost Egyptian plague of sand-flies. Like every other large place in the neighbourhood of the Sutledge and Indus, it is some four or five miles distant from the river; an unavoidable consequence of the fantastic freaks played by those rivers, in so frequently and arbitrarily changing their courses. The climate is considered healthy and is particularly dry; there are no periodical rains, some half-dozen showers only falling during the cold season; it is exceedingly hot, and the sand-storms, which frequently occur, are terrible. Around the cantonments, so far as the eye can reach, the sight is offended by low jungle and glaring sand alone, not a tree of any size being visible. The bazaar is extensive, and well supplied. From the dryness of the atmosphere, the station has already suffered much from fire, which will cause the discontinuance of thatched roofs in the erection of all new buildings. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the police, the inhabitants sustain constant losses from robbers.

The death of the Ranees has but recently taken place, when Government, not feeling bound to acknowledge the claims of any of those who pretended to be her heirs, took possession of her territory. She is described as having sat daily in her old fort (still existing), administering justice in all respects like her male compatriots. The value of water, and the lawless state of the people, under native rule, may be estimated from the fact of every well having been formerly

flanked by a tower, with a garrison of armed men, to protect it; some of these towers are still standing, but the greater portion have been, under the new regime, levelled to the ground.

Close to Ferozepore, is an island, about six miles in length by three in breadth, which is occasionally debateable ground between the Sikh and British Indian Governments. By the treaty between the later and the court of Lahore, their separate dominions are bounded by the Sutledge, and, in cases like the present, wherever the stream runs with the greater velocity, that is deemed the main river. The current is at this time strongest on the Punjab side, in consequence of which the island is British; in a year or two, the river may pursue the other channel, when it recerts to the Sikhs. But for this uncertain tenure, it might bring in a considerable revenue, the soil being of the finest quality: even under existing circumstances, it has been farmed out for some thousands of rupees per annum, and patches of cultivation, with a few hovels—the nuclei probably of future flourishing villages—here and there show themselves. The greater part is, however, covered with jungle, or reed-grass, and it will perhaps be scarcely credited that many of the blades reach to the enormous height of twenty-five feet. Unless the Author had himself seen this he would have hesitated to believe such a statement; but he can vouch for its truth, as, while engaged on a tiger-shooting excursion, and standing in the howdah of a very tall elephant, the grass in question towered many feet above his head. Of a party consisting of thirty elephants, four times that number of attendants, and several horses, all formed in close line, the whole were occasionally completely concealed from the view of each other by this overwhelming jungle.

The black partridge, the plumage of which is very beautiful, abounds in it. Lieut. Wood saw specimens on the banks of the Indus, and thus describes it: "In addition to the common grey partridge, Sinde possesses another species of striking beauty. The head, breast, and belly of this bird are of a jetty black. A red ring encircles the neck. The back of the head is speckled white and black, while a large white spot is dotted under each eye. The wing-feathers are spotted yellow on a black ground. Those of the tail are short and downy, marked by delicate white and black bars towards their extremes. This is a heavier and altogether a nobler looking bird than the other. From the predominance of dark feathers in its plumage, it is usually called the black partridge." Wild duck, quail, and snipe are also plentiful all over island.

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The elephant is particularly partial to the flower of the grass just alluded to, winding his trunk round the stems of at least a dozen blades at a time, and allowing them to pass through it while he walks on, thus tearing off the tops, a feat which it would need the united strength of several men to perform.

On the banks of the river are many quicksands, and during this excursion, an elephant incautiously approached one too closely; first one foot sank, then another, and in the endeavour to extricate himself, matters became worse; at last no portion of either of his legs was visible, and the by-standers had given up the poor animal as lost: being, fortunately, unusually powerful, he with almost supernatural strength, three several times, drew a foot from the closely-clinging earth, placing it where, by sounding with his trunk, he found most solidity; at the third trial the ground bore his pressure, and he gradually released himself. During the whole time of his troubles, his cries were exceedingly dolorous, and might have been heard a long distance; his grunt, when they were at an end, was equally indicative of satisfaction. The internal application of a bottle of strong spirits soon dissipated his trembling, and restored his equanimity. Many elephants are lost in these treacherous sands, when large quantities of grass or branches of trees are not at hand to form an available support for them. After a time, the poor beast becomes powerless, and the owner can then only look with sorrow at the gradual disappearance of his noble animal, and lament the pecuniary loss he thereby sustains; for all human aid is futile. They have been known to be twelve hours before entirely sinking.

While on this subject it may not be altogether out of place, to allude to the scarcity in this part of India, of the camel; which is in its way as useful and valuable an animal as the other. The English reader will hardly be surprised at this scarcity, when he hears that, from the commencement of the Afghanistan campaign, in 1838, to the month of October 1840, the number killed, stolen, and strayed, was somewhat beyond fifty-five thousand. The average value of each may be taken at eighty rupees; which makes this single item of war expenditure, above forty-five lacs of rupees, or four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

All who reside in the north-western provinces of India, and purpose adopting the route by the Sutledge and Indus rivers to Bombay, will find Ferozepore decidedly the best port of embarkation; and should they not have friends at the station upon whom they can rely

for procuring boats for them, they have only to address a letter to the assistant political agent of the Governor-General, who will readily attend to their wishes. As much notice as possible should be given, boats being at times extremely scarce, in consequence of all that are available being taken up by the commissariat, for the conveyance of troops, stores, &c. to Sukkur and elsewhere. Information should at the same time be afforded as to the number of the party, including servants, quantity of baggage, &c., as well as whether expedition be an object; in order that as light a craft as is consistent with the comfort of her passengers may be provided. The expected time of arrival at Ferozepore must also be notified.

Much cannot be said in favor of any of the boats at present playing on the Sutledge; the best of them are heavy, and sluggish in the extreme, and altogether ill-adapted for the purpose of expedition, however they may be so to the peculiarities of the river. The writer travelled in one, termed a *Doondee*, the extreme length of which was thirty feet, and the breadth, outside, twelve; the measurement being four hundred maunds, or about twelve tons. A long rubber served also as a paddle, the steersman being considerably elevated, to watch the true course of the stream; a couple of oars, or sweeps, at the stem, each worked by two men, formed the only other artificial impetus, which certainly did not amount to three-quarters of a mile in the hour. Both stem and stern, the latter especially, are somewhat raised, and are equally bluff; in form, indeed, altogether similar to a Thomas coal-barge. The space between them is devoted to the passenger, except about four feet of the centre, kept free for baling out the water, which is admitted in large quantities. By the use of bamboos, and the strong reedy grass already described, a comfortable, apartment is closed in, about thirteen feet by nine, and another forward, about half that length, for servants and cooking operations. This thatching would by no means be imperious to heavy rain, nor does it prove an altogether efficient protection from the heat of the sun; the thermometer beneath it, during the month of November, ranging, towards the close of the afternoon, between 85° and 90° , while, before sun-rise, it was scarcely above 50° with hoar frost at times on the ground.

Such are the Sutledge boats; and they scarcely vary except in size. In progressing against the stream, they ship a mast, upon which, when the wind is favorable, they carry one large sail, far excelling with regard to both canvas and preservation the appointments of their brethren on the Ganges; when the wind is unfavorable, their sweeps

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being useless against the current, they are tracked along shore. Their stems and sterns are generally elaborately carved, and at the masts-heads are frequently carried small brass bells, which tinkle as they move, a short staff, with a white flag, being hoisted over all. They never use the lead; and the first intimation of their being in shoal water is their sweeps touching the ground. They have no anchors or kedges; their mode of bringing-to being by means of a short staff and rope, the latter attached to the head of the vessel, and the former taken on shore and pointed diagonally towards the earth; the stream at the same time, taking the boat down, forces in the staff until it is far enough to hold; this is termed *lugaoin*. Another pole of much greater length is also used to prevent the strain being entirely upon the smaller one.

Country boats for going down the Sutledge are certainly preferable to steamers, being far less liable, from their slight draught of water, to get on sandbanks; but in consequence of the great extent of thatch exposed to the wind, and their heaviness in other respects, they are utterly incapable of facing even a moderate adverse breeze, although with the current in their favor; should this occur, they are obliged to bring-to, and wait until the return of light airs. The little care the men take of the *matériel* of their boats may be conjectured from the fact of grass occasionally growing from the interstices of their sweeps. The hire is paid in advance, and varies according to their scarcity at the time of engagement. For the one just described, the author paid one hundred and thirty two rupees for the trip from Ferozepore to Sukkur, being, for three months, at the rate of forty-four rupees per mensem; for, though the passage occupied but fifteen days, two months and a half are charged in addition, such being the time calculated to be occupied in the return. This includes the wages of the six men forming the boat's crew, and indeed every expense but the thatching, which costs the traveller twenty rupees in addition.

The River Sutledge

A description of the boats used in the navigation of the Sutledge having been attempted in the last chapter, a few words now appear necessary as to the supplies requisite for the voyage. The boatmen and servants will be mindful of their own wants; so the traveller has only to provide for his own; and in doing so, he should recollect that, for nine days at the least, or until reaching Bhawulpore, he will not be able to make any addition to what he starts with, the very few villages skirting the river's banks being unable to supply him even with an

egg. He will, therefore, take from Ferozepore as much fresh meat as will keep good, and when that is expended he must resort to his poultry (of which any quantity can be carried in baskets) or to salted and preserved meats, if he is possessed of any. His bread will, in a few days, become unpalatable, but biscuits or *chepaties* will from excellent substitutes; the *chepatie* is a species of pancake, made of coarse flour, and in many parts of the East (here and among the Simla hills for instance) it forms almost the entire support of the natives. Butter he may manage to keep good, but milk, unless he encumber himself with goats, he must be content to dispense with. Tea or coffee, eggs, rice, spices, and flour, candles and oil, with naturally occur to him as being requisite. Under the head of liquids, he will have no difficulty in calculating his expenditure, and the quantity he should carry with him. At Ferozepore, European goods, including wines, are perhaps dearer than at any other place in India; beer, for instance, being fourteen rupees per dozen, when at Calcutta it is but six, and eleven only at Simla, where the expense of hill carriage one would imagine should render it much more costly than at Ferozepore.

A *khidmutghar* and cook are the only servants necessary to be taken, or, if the former be clever enough to undertake both duties (which he ought to be, considering his wages, twelve rupees, are nearly double what they would be under ordinary circumstances) the cook may be dispensed with. He should be made answerable that cooking utensils, plates, dishes, and other table requisites, &c., with every thing else in his department not already detailed, is provided; and he will then be careful to see that all is complete before starting.

The traveller's trunks, or *petarrah*s, will of course contain his wardrobe, dressing and writing apparatus; besides which, a couch, or charpoy, with bedding, mosquito-curtains, table and chair, *chillumchee* and stand, will be all the furniture he requires. Pistols would be by no means out of place, and a gun, with plenty of bullets, and large slugs for the alligators and storks, with snort for water fowl generally, will help to kill time as well as them.

Of the river itself there is little to say. Putting aside the interest excited by the recollection that it once bore the barks of the great Alexander, and that only very recently has the English traveller been permitted to thread its windings, there could not well be a more uninteresting one.

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There are no towns, villages, or other marks, to denote the progress made during each day, but the only mode of calculation is, that Bhawulpore being the first place of any note, nine days were occupied in reaching it (reckoning the day at twelve hours); a day and a half more, to the junction of the Jelum, the Ravee, and the Chenab, with the Sutledge, and somewhat exceeding another to their confluence with the Indus. Neither Tassin's, nor any other map of the Sutledge, will prove the much use to the traveller; and from the time of leaving Ferozepore, until he reaches Bhawulpore, he will have great difficulty in understanding where he is; below the latter place, however, in consequence of the junctions of the different rivers, and the travellers on them having been more frequent, the discovery of his true position is rendered far less troublesome.

The boatmen are, in all cases, profoundly ignorant of localities, and the people on shore; if asked the names of their villages, invariably call them differently from what they are laid down in the maps.

There cannot well be a more tortuous river than the Sutledge; from Ferozepore to Bhawulpore, it is but a continued succession of winding reaches, the head of the boat being every half-hour, literally, all round the compass; even the steersman, laying aside, for once, the usual nonchalance of a native, when gazing from his lofty perch over the surrounding country, and seeing before him the labor of one hour lengthened into four or five, cannot refrain from uttering a suppressed "Wah ! Wah !" or other exclamation of surprise.

The distance is reckoned at two hundred and forty miles; but this is evidently an error, for it is nearly two hundred and twenty by land, and the windings in question must at least add eighty to it. The strength of the current nowhere exceeds three miles in the hour, while frequently it is less than two, and it becomes particularly sluggish upon approaching the point of junction with the other rivers.

It was remarked in the last chapter, that the utmost impulse that could be given to the boat itself was three quarters of a mile in the hour, adding to this an average current of two miles, the distance of three hundred miles would then occupy within a fraction of the nine days' voyage. Again, from Bhawulpore to Mithun Kote, taking the same average for a day and a half, with an additional three quarters of a mile per hour of current for one day, the result will show the distance actually estimated, viz. ninety miles. The course of the stream being always under a bank, rather than along a low shore, and so

making the widest possible sweep, adds considerably to the length of the passage.

The fall of the river in the early part of November, does not exceed six feet, and the sand banks are in no instance above two feet from its surface; while, after its junction with the Chenab, the fall has been less, the banks there being only just perceptible. The average breadth of the Sutledge, when unimpeded by sand-banks, may be something more than a quarter of a mile, but it becomes nearly doubled immediately upon its junction with the Chenab; the strength of the stream at the same time increasing by at least three quarters of a mile. There is not half a mile of the river unimpeded by sand-banks,—which are of all forms and sizes; they are indiscriminately scattered on the borders and in the centre, in such numbers, as to render it very difficult to judge correctly of the true course of the stream, every channel being equally narrow; in such a strait as this, it is generally found advisable to take the widest sweep, and under a bank, should there be one, that being the most likely locality for the deepest water.

The Sutledge is every where very shallow, and no craft of great burthen could attempt the passage with safety. Even a boat drawing less than two feet water, constantly touches ground; but such occurrences seldom cause much delay; for it not got off immediately by the use of poles, the crew at once take to the water, and, by sheer force, speedily release her. Until after the union with the Chenab, there is not a single creek, or *nullah* of importance, four or five hours previously to which, a long line of haze, at an elevation of ten degrees from the horizon, points out the direction of the latter river.

But few incidents occur to relieve the monotony of the downward voyage; the people met with are few, and the boats are equally so. There seems considerable *esprit de corps* among the nautical fraternity; on every occasion, when one passes another, conversation is kept up during all the time their voices can be heard, and, whether strangers or not, the general termination of their intercourse, is the expression of a desire to have their compliments conveyed to certain parties at the places to which the one or the other may be progressing. By this means also they obtain mutual information as to the course of the main stream, the strength of current, and on other points, that may appear to them necessary to become acquainted with.

In bringing to for the night, the Punjaubee shore is always avoided, on account of the liability to attacks from robbers. The other, indeed, does not bear a much better character, so that, whenever

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it is practicable, the boat is hauled up alongside a sand-bank in the centre of the river, its inmates being thus protected from any sudden incursion, by the expanse of water on each hand; to the utter disturbance; however, of immense flocks of waterfowl, who may have already quietly taken up their positions there. The boatmen make but one regular meal in the day, and that not until their labours are over. Their food consists solely of *chepatties*, and they have to grind the corn every evening, as well as to prepare and bake the cakes, never keeping a sufficient stock of flour for more than a day's consumption. Should any remain after this meal, it is served out to each in proportion the following morning, but they do not cease working while partaking of it. Their drink is water. They are a dirty race, and it is extremely rare to behold them in the performance of any ablutions. Their language is a corruption of Hindoostanee. The cool air of early morning seems to benumb them, their full faculties not returning until the rising sun once more imparts warmth to all around; and they appear to delight in it; however extreme may be the heat. They are most fearful of proceeding after night-fall, and no promise of reward will induce them to do so. They have a fire always burning, easily collecting as much fuel as is needed on the river's banks.

A Punjaubee town takes rank with a Hindoostanee village, and as the latter scarcely ever equals the most inconsiderable hamlet in England, some idea may be formed of the poverty of the first. Almost every village has a tower, belonging to the head man in it, which is pierced with loopholes and otherwise capable of defence. On the death of the owner, should he leave many sons, it not unfrequently happens that the inheritance is disputed, and other towers are run up by them; but, as might in this part of the world too often constitutes right, the strongest or best supported ultimately succeeds his father.

The natives of these parts, like their brethren of Bengal and elsewhere in India, have either the most utter ignorance of distances, or the most thorough contempt for the necessity of at times thinking before speaking; it is, therefore, useless to endeavour to obtain a knowledge of one's locality, by putting questions to them; nothing being gained thereby, but the amusement resulting from their replies. Between Bhawulpore and Ferozepore, on asking at a particular spot the distance to the former, the positive answer was seventy *coss*; shortly afterwards, according to another equally self-satisfied authority, it had become one hundred and fifty; and for three days in succession, it was exactly one hundred with every body; these respondents being not

always ignorant labourers, but boatmen, whose whole lives are passed between the two places named.

It may safely be said, that, from the river, let the eye glance as far inland as possible, it will not embrace a hundred yards of any kind of cultivation in a dozen miles; though much of the soil seems well adapted for it, it is too probable that the treachery of the river is known by those, who might otherwise avail themselves of the advantages it appears to offer.

Not a furlong is passed but the effects of the river's ravages are apparent in broken banks, and one at last becomes so familiar with the sight and sound of immense masses giving way, as to cease paying any attention whatever to the circumstance; during the stillness of the night, these concussions are heard at a long distance, resembling distant thunder, and the rapid succession of them has an effect upon the stranger not a little curious. That all this should be so is hardly to be wondered at, when the formation of the banks is taken into consideration; they are composed either of sand or light earth, though occasionally these are conjoined in strata, the sand being as often the base as the superstructure; what slight dependence can be placed on their firmness may, therefore, be easily imagined. If the smallest particle is displaced, in any one part, it is often attended by disruptions along an entire bank of several hundred yards in length. A party might search along shore from Ferozepore to the Indus without meeting a stone so large even as a pebble.

The student of zoology would here find ample field for his observation, coupled, doubtless, with some astonishment. It is within the mark to say that he will daily see not less than five hundred alligators; these are of all sizes, from the young one of four feet and upwards in length, to the ancients of from twelve to sixteen. Every sand-bank is crowded with them, their favourite stations being at the tails of such as are isolated, whence, when slightly disturbed, they glide into the water with an almost imperceptible motion; but when shot, the plunge with which they regain their native element is very violent. They are of the long-nosed species, and their prey is fish alone. The river ought indeed to be swarming with the finny tribe, to provide sustenance for such a countless host of monsters. Besides those basking in the sun like gigantic leeches, (to the colour of which they approximate) their course is to be traced all around, though the protuberances on the head and extreme end of the snout, are all that can be seen; while, from sun-rise until night, the agitations on the surface of the water in all directions, give abundant evidence of the bloody conflicts taking

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place beneath. Kingfishers every where abound. Porpoises are not uncommon though by no means numerous; other fish are altogether invisible. Water-fowl, in all their varieties, are not less abundant than the alligator; they are to be seen by hundreds, from the largest to the smallest species. The variety of storks is also great, and some are very beautiful: the white storks, indeed, occasionally congregate in such vast quantities, that they give any distant low bank, near which they may have alighted, the appearance of a mass of chalk. Upon the author's return to England, he was surprised to find that the museum at the East India House, scarcely contained one specimen of the birds, so plentiful in this and the Indus rivers.

From one end of the river to the other, not a single fishing-boat or fisherman is to be met with, so that the alligators and water-fowl have full scope for their predatory pursuits, and hold undisputed possession of the watery region. On shore, a solitary eagle may at times be seen, perched upon the stump of a blasted tree; but, except upon rare occasions, the scenes through which one passes are far too solitary for the hawk and crow—generally such conspicuous objects in every Indian scene whereaught exists of animation. The last remark is also applicable to the dog, an animal with which every Indian village swarms; the jaakal is heard nightly, and the tiger and hog abound in all the jungles. Wasps were plentiful, not making their appearance, however, much before noon, and taking their leave every afternoon at sun-set. Herds of buffaloes are occasionally seen crossing the river, in the same way as in the Ganges; though here with much greater vociferation from the drivers.

The jungle consists principally of high grass and tamarisk shrubs; the latter, at times, approximating to a moderate-sized tree. Now and then the eye is relieved by the sight of a small forest, the tar and the palm trees being conspicuous therein; but far oftener is the scenery barren and desolate in the extreme. European travellers on these rivers are so rare, that every native on shore, or boatman afloat, is anxious in his enquiries as to who and what the stranger is, whence, and whither going, with every other particular that can be obtained.

At sun-set of the eleventh day, eight hours' journey from the Indus, portions of the Soliman range of mountains were distinctly perceptible, extending from west to nearly northwest, or through forty degrees of the horizon; the latter portion being the more lofty, and distant at least eighty-five miles; that in the western direction, not less than seventy-five.

From every portion of the river, the echo on shore is loud and distinct.

Ferry-boats are stationed every few miles, their approaching departure being announced by beat of tom-tom. There are three other modes of crossing the river in vogue among those who cannot wait until the allotted time for doing so, or who are unwilling to disburse the trifle levied upon the passengers: first, by swimming; secondly, by taking, as a companion, an inflated mussuck (sheep skin), and by its support paddling over; but the last, and certainly most curious mode, is by means of a bundle of reeds or straw, about four feet in length, firmly tied together, and used like the *mussuck*. These novel life-buoys are then left on the bank for the next person needing them, and may be seen every few yards. "A drowning man will catch at a straw," is a proverb that may occur to the reader; henceforth, it should not be applied altogether in derision.

The expedient in use among the natives to procure water, deserves, likewise, a passing remark. A deep well is sunk in the bank close to the river, a small canal being cut to communicate therewith, and keep it constantly-filled; over this well is a strong roughly-made upright wheel, round which is a double strap, with a number of earthen vessels (called *kedgeree* pots) firmly fixed thereto; a horizontal wheel alongside, turned by two oxen or one strong buffalo blind-folded, acts upon the spokes of a small upright wheel, which sets the large one in motion; the earthen vessels descend into the well with their mouths downwards, return reversed and full, and at the point of again descending, a trough receives their contents, which small channels in the ground convey to whatever distance is requisite. The quantity of water raised at each revolution is considerable, and according to the number of vessels employed; many are worked throughout the night, and, as their owners would deem it a profligate expenditure to apply any grease to the axles, the noise of them is always heard at a long distance. After the junction of the Sutledge with the Chenab, these wheels, previously so plenteous, were no more to be seen, which may be accounted for, by the inland creeks then becoming numerous and important.

A heavy fall of dew commenced every night at sunset and continued until morning. The prevailing winds were south and south-west, always very light. The temperature of the water never varied more than two degrees, ranging between 67° and 69° at all hours, not being affected after either of the junctions. The thermometer, early in the morning, ranged between 54° and 57° , after sunrise 62° and 64° , at

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noon 82° and 87°, and at 9 p.m. from 70° to 74°. The water is scarcely less muddy than that of the Ganges.

There were only two objects possessing anything approaching to architectural interest during the entire route of twelve days; one was the village of Umrote, about fifteen miles from Ferozepore, on the left bank; it is situated somewhat inland, is entirely surrounded by a stone or brick wall, in excellent condition, having the appearance, consequently of a strong fortress. A *sowar*, mounted on a small but remarkably fast elephant, came down to reconnoitre the passing boat, and stated that it belonged to a Patan chief, named Jumal Deen, a tributary of the Sikh government, and that it contained between four and five hundred inhabitants. Every other village consisted of houses and hovels made of mud and mud alone. The other object was a tomb on the Punjab shore, about ten miles from the Indus, consisting of the ordinary shaped Mahomedan cupola, rising from a quadrangular tower with two terraces, and very small minarets at the corners of each; the gateway, one or two hundred yards distant, being formed of two turrets, one somewhat larger than the other, with a narrow wall or curtain connecting them; the whole of a brownish stone. The foregoing must be received, however, as a very imperfect description; their distance inland, and the foliage nearly concealing all but the cupolas, rendering it impossible to give a better.

Bhawulpore, which is not seen from the river, is described by Lieutenant Wood, "as a town with which he felt more pleased than any the mission had hitherto visited. Its streets are cleaner and wider than those of Hyderabad, the metropolis of Lower Sind, while its bazaar, though not so large as that of Shikarpore, offers a greater variety and has a more prosperous look. Within the place are some fine gardens laid out in the Persian fashion. Though the largest town belonging to the Daoudutras, it is seldom honoured by the presence of the Khan."

There are no Europeans at Bhawulpore, but an intelligent Mussulmaun, named Peer Ibrahim Khan, acts as agent to the political authorities at Ferozepore, and can be applied to in case of need, not hesitating to come from the town to the river, a distance of four or five miles, if required. There is a branch of the post office here, the only one between Ferozepore and Sukkur.

The River Indus

At noon of the twelfth day from leaving Ferozepore, and the third from Bhawulpore, the broad bosom of the noble river, swelled

by the united contributions of her four younger sisters, received the traveller's boat. His first impressions of the busy scene into which he was launched were anything but unsavourable. Before him rose the small but important town of Mithun Kote, conspicuous by its substantial, square and flat-roofed houses, and towering above them, at either extremity, were two elegant cupolas, which at the distance whence they were viewed, appeared of the finest marble. In face of it is the large thickly-populated, but mud-built village, of Chachur, between them employing several ferry-boats, and which were filled with people, merchandize and cattle; while more of all were waiting for transport on the bank. Rafts loaded with fuel were being towed up the stream, and all was bustling animation. The author had hardly entered the Indus when he was loudly hailed from the shore, (between which and himself was a bank with three feet water only, and at least a quarter of a mile in breadth) and commanded to land and show that he possessed a *purwannah* (passport) from the political authoritics at Ferozepore; but, being pressed for time, he disregarded so unwelcome an invitation, very naturally preferring the increased velocity which he had attained, and conceiving that, if such a form were requisite, the Government should have provided its functionaries with a boat to meet strangers, and so subject them to no unnecessary delay. The voice and threats of the indignant official soon died away in the distance, and a turn in the river prevented a longer gaze at the gesticulations he so abundantly displayed. A few rising sand-banks, with their usual occupants, then presented themselves, beyond which, as far as the eye could reach, was one unimpeded expanse of stream nearly two miles in breadth. But in the direction of either shore, the scenery of the Sutledge once more returned, and all was utter vacancy; on one hand a bank of six feet high, supporting a jungle of the same elevation; on the other, a sandy desert flat, with no tree or hovel to relieve its monotony, and nought but a few withered branches here and there interspersed, left by the retiring waters of some former flood.

Towards the close of day, the small encampment of a commissariat officer collecting grain, with its tents, boats, people, camels and horses, contrasted strongly with the desolation both before and subsequently. At sunset, the mountains of Soliman were again in view, extending full ninety degrees from west to north.

Such is the aspect, almost without any variation, from Muthun Kote to within a few miles of Sukkur; between those places are three or four pettay mud villages, within sight of the river, each having a

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few cultivated fields in its neighbourhood. The owners of the latter have evidently had reason to repent their boldness in infringing so far as they have done, upon the river's dominion, as many yards of their crops are growing from the water, where it has been too shallow to swallow up the whole, a fate which their tenements themselves will most assuredly ere long experience. There are also a few temporary hamlets, each of not more than a dozen hovels, located on the very borders, the abodes of fisherman, who by the exercise of their calling, obtain a scanty livelihood for, although the fish is good and plentiful, none can afford to buy but at the lowest rates.

The current of the Indus varies greatly in strength; at times it does not exceed three miles in the hour, at others four, four and a half, and sometimes five; while, when the bed is confined by sand-banks within a small space, it rushes round every jutting point at six or seven, and forms a backwater, or whirlpool, at every indentation of the bank. Through the carelessness of the steersman, the boats will sometimes get involved in one of these, when from ten to twenty minutes will be lost in getting her free. Between Mithun Kote and Sukkur, a distance of one hundred and seventy miles, the current may, on the average, be reckoned at three miles and a half per hour, the transit occupying three days and a half.

The course to Sukkur varies very little from the points between west-south-west and south; though about, eight miles from the latter place, there is one long reach running east-north-east, exactly parallel with that succeeding it, which is west-north-west. Along the whole course of the former, the bank was falling, immense masses, tons in weight, giving way every moment, carrying with them tamarisk and other shrubs at least twenty feet in height, each concussion sounding at a distance like the roar of artillery, and causing more commotion on the water than would the paddle-wheels of the largest steamer. Half a mile on the other side of this bank, a broad *nullah* a doubt that, before the lapse of many weeks, the inroads of both will utterly submerge the whole of this, comparatively speaking, vast tract of land; the loosened portions being gradually borne along to form a sand-bank at some portion of the river now altogether free.

It is the shifting nature of these sands that has been, and will continue to be, the great bar to the navigation of the Indus. It may confidently be asserted that, during every hour of the day and night, some material change is taking place; and it would be folly in any one to calculate upon the main stream pursuing the same course in two

successive years. Vessels of large burthen must, therefore, still be debarred from a share in the commerce of the Indus, which will be confined to the flat-bottomed boats and steamers, the utmost extent of whose draught of water must be below four feet, in order to render them safe for all seasons of the year.

The boats of Lower Sind vary but little from those of the Sutledge. The stem and stern are not so broad, and at each there is a much larger space decked off from the centre, somewhat confining the latter, though, from being deeper, not greatly diminishing the capacity for cargo. This arrangement is necessary, as the boatmen frequently have their wives and children living with them on board, reserving the afterpart to themselves, and all the rest being appropriated to the passenger, in case the vessel one. On these occasions, the women work at the tracking-rope, and assist in the necessary duties, with all the energy of the other sex, and sometimes even more.¹

Very few alligators are seen after the first day's journey on the Indus, and, some time before reaching Sukkur, they entirely disappear. In lieu of them, the porpoise is abundant, and may be seen floundering about in all directions throughout the day, while the noise made by their blowing, breaks incessantly upon the silence of night. Storks, geese, and other water fowl are not less plentiful than in the Sutledge. Bandicotes of immense size are very frequent on the banks. Puffs of wind, of considerable violence during the hour or two they continue, and at this season invariably from the north-east, are of constant occurrence; against them the river boats are utterly helpless, and must be brought-to until they moderate. Ferry-boats are more numerous, and fishing-boats much more common, than on the Sutledge, especially near villages; of the latter, two, named Chuck and Rode, a few hours' journey from Sukkur, are apparently of some consequence, and thickly

1. The following interesting and curious return of boats on the Sutledge has been obtained from a source we fully rely on.

New boats built on the Sutledge from 1838 to 1841, inclusive. Boats that navigate the river from Loodianna to the sea.

	No. of Boats	Aggregate Burthen.
1838	5 of	1900 maunds.
1839	11 "	4900 "
1840	43 "	21200 "
1841	69 "	37050 "
<hr/>		
128 Boats		65050
<hr/>		

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populated; the tenements are, however, all of mud. The reaches are much longer than in Sutledge, and seldom vary in their direction more than five or six points of the compass.

On approaching Sukkur the soil assumes a somewhat more fertile appearance; and from the firmer texture of the bank, the huts are built within a few feet of it, while corn is growing and cattle safely grazing on its very verge, in defiance, as it were, of the still impetuous flood beneath. Lofty minarets, gaudy-looking mosques, and castellated buildings of every of form, all mixed up in apparently inextricable confusion, with thousands of luxuriant date trees, interspersed among them, next fix the attention; and a few minutes' further progress on the rapid river enables the passer-by to see each separately and distinctly. On the left bank is Roree, on the right Sukkur; while between them is the spacious fort of Bukkar, occupying the entire island on which it stands.

This fort has been erroneously supposed by many to have been the first conquest of the army of the Indus, in the Affghanian campaign; but such is not the case; in fact, although still the their possession, it dose not belong at all to the British Indian Government, being only lent to them by its owner, Meer Roostum Khan, the Ameer of Khyrpore; the consideration paid for its occupation, so long as it shall be needed, being one hundred and fifty thousand rupees; and the owner's small triangular crimson flag still waves on the lofty keep, below the glorious flag of England.

As a place of strength, Bukkur is utterly insignificant: and the state of its battlements may be imagined, from the fact that the firing of the mid-day gun did so much injury to them, that it was discontinued, and that signal is now given from a small battery crowning an eminence above Sukkur. From Roree or Sukkur, on either of the main shores, it could be battered down in a very short space of time.

*Boats called *Chuppoos* that seldom venture further down the Sutledge than Gourgeana (though sometimes seen at Sukkhur) built principally in the Beesas.

No. of Boats.	Aggregate Burthen.
1840 18 of 5550 Maunds.
1841 31 " 9300 "
49	14850

(*Bombay Times*, 26th Feb. 1842).

To the north and south are two smaller islands, the former containing the remains of a handsome mosque.

That Sukkur was at one time a place of much importance, is evident from the ruins of a vast number of tombs in every direction round it; all the many hillocks near the place being crowded with them. Many are, however, in course of removal, to give place to residences for the living, such as are in good order, being, with some slight alterations, in most cases, made into capital out-offices, their ornamental mosaic faces, which, for cook-rooms, winecellars, &c., would not fail to throw a ludicrous appearance on the plainly-built structure near them, being covered with a coating of that Sindian *sine qua non*, mud.

Though not altogether an unhealthy place, Sukkur is bitterly complained of for its excessive heat; the thermometer in the house, from April to August, frequently ranging between 120° and 130°. When it is considered that the scutcherly breezes, to which it is exposed during those months, reach it after traversing some hundreds of miles of sandy desert, this can hardly be matter for surprise. Most of the houses have verandahs entirely round them, which, with the window-blinds, &c., are closed early every day, thus doubly protecting the inmates from heat and glare; yet, with the use of *tatties*, and every other artificial mode of lowering the temperature, few are successful in reducing it below 90°. About midnight, this excessive heat decreases, but, early next morning, it returns with equal intensity. It does occasionally happen, though not frequently, that a sudden rain will set in during the hot season, and continue for some days, when the thermometer will in a few hours fall from the mark already quoted to between 60° and 70°.

The strength of the current during the inundations, from June to August, is nearly nine miles per hour, rushing along in a sheet of foam, at which period the steamers travel at an extraordinary rate, reaching Hyderabad from Sukkur in a day and a half.

A glance at the map will show the important and commanding situation of Sukkur, whether as regards the navigation of the Indus, or the countries to which it is contiguous; and recent events fully prove the necessity of having a strong force concentrated there.

Inconsistent as it may appear, chests of treasure are, for greater security kept night and day in the open air, large sums being generally guarded by a single Sepoy. It is argued, and not perhaps without

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reason, that there can be no risk of secret abstraction while thus situated; whereas, within the walls of a house, where a guard could not at all times be stationed, such an occurrence may easily take place.

Date trees are every where very numerous, but the fruit they produce is of inferior quality.

Roree is merely a native town, and stands on a flinty precipice, nearly fifty feet in height, some of the houses in it actually overhanging the river, while others slope inland, lofty turrets peeping from the midst of mud hovels. A small harbour gives shelter to a large fleet of boats, beyond which, is a thick grove of date trees. Lieut. Wood thus writes of the three place: "At Roree, a low bleak ridge, of limestone and flint formation, crosses the bed of the Indus. On the east bank, the rock, crowned by the town of Roree, rises abruptly from the river, which flows by it at four miles an hours at one season of the year, and with double that velocity at another. On the west bank, where the town of Sukkur stands, the ridge is depressed, and is swept by a narrower and more tranquil stream. In the mid channel are several islets; the tile-stained turrets on one, near the east shore, giving it more the appearance of a Chinese pagoda than a Mussulmaun's tomb. Two of these islands are famous in Indian story; Bukkur, for its strength, and Khadja Khizr, for sanctity. The banks of the river, for some distance below Bukkur, are fringed with the date palm, and its appearance, always pleasing, is here heightened by the character of the neighbouring country. On the west bank stand the ruins of Sukkur, with its tall minar, towaring gracefully above the dark date growes. Red flinty hillocks from the back-ground on both banks, while between them rolls a broad stream, adding beauty to the whole."

In the event of the traveller's boat being engaged only to Sukkur, and no steamer be available there, a further boat engagement must be entered into, at the same rate as before; the length of the journey being estimated at two months and a half, instead of three. The total amount of boat-hire from Ferozepore to the sea would, therefore, be two hundred and forty-two rupees, or the hire of nearly six months, for little more than a three weeks' voyage. It should be borne in mind, however, that in returning, especially near the sea, the average progress is seldom more than seven or eight miles per diem. In all that regards these boats, the traveller will meet with the utmost attention from the

Superintendent of the navigation of the Indus, stationed at Sukkur, where also fresh supplies of all kinds can be laid in if requisite, either for the seven days that will be occupied in reaching the mouth of the river, or for the fortnight that may be required to arrive at Bombay, thus avoiding all delay on that account at the river's mouth. At Sukkur also it is far from unlikely, considering the constant communication between it and Bombay, that servants may be procured desirous of going to the latter place; the Ferozepore men might then be discharged, and no trouble would ensue to the traveller, on his arrival at the Western Presidency, in providing a passage for them back to Ferozepore. In matters of this kind, however, every thing depends upon the agreements originally entered into.

Around Sukkur the Persian water-wheels are abundant, in all respects similar to those of the Sutledge, though between it and that river scarcely one was visible. The reed life-buoy seems quite unknown, but the sheep-skin *mussuck* is still used; in addition to which, the pappler's feet are clasped round the neck of an empty earthen jar, with the mouth upwards, thus enabling him to lie at full length on the water. The hunting-grounds in the neighbourhood are stocked with wild boar and deer, but there are no tigers.

For a few miles beyond Sukkur, date trees are plentiful, when the former description of scenery returns with little variation. At about fifty miles distance, a branch from the Indus flows in a south-westerly direction, and empties itself into a lake named Munchar, the branch itself being dignified by the style of River, and, from being exceedingly serpentine, the name of Nara, or snake, has been given to it.

The Brahooick or Hala Mountains come in view after a further progress of ten miles; and either they, or the spur from them, called the Jungar or Lukkee Hills, continue so until reaching the vicinity of Hyderabad, when no more of them is seen. In the Halas is the celebrated Bolan pass, crossed by the Army of the Indus on its march into Afghanistan. Sixty miles beyond, and situated on the right bank, is a handsome tomb and gateway, the only specimen of a elaborate architecture to be found between it and Sukkur.

On approaching Sehwun, one hundred and sixty miles distant from Sukkur, the Lukkee Hills gradually open to the view, the four mounds, terminating the range having, from a distance, the appearance of pitched tents. Sehwun is situated inland on the right bank of the Arrul river, which emerges from the lake before-mentioned, and here

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joins the main stream. The village, though mud-built, seems large. On mounds in its vicinity, are various ruined tombs, with the remains of an old castle, the date of which has been attributed to the Greek era, from the coins found therein having been supposed to warrant such a supposition. While a Sukkur, the writer saw various gold, silver and copper specimens, which had been found among the ruins, but none were of greater age than three hundred years. The copper coins were exceedingly numerous, most of them being a mass of verdigris. The tomb of a famous Khorasan saint, named Lal Shah Baz, is still in existence, though six hundred years have passed since its erection.

The Indus here takes some considerable turns, at length washing the very base of the Lukkee Hills, for some miles continuing to do so, then gradually receding to the south-eastward, when the hills, which have rarely exceeded one or two hundred feet in height, become more lofty, ultimately reaching an elevation of between one and two thousand. In no country would it, perhaps, be possible to find more barren and desolate hills than these. Throughout the entire range of some fifty miles, not a tree or blade of grass can be perceived on them, the only approach to vegetation being an occasional jungly bush, not six feet in height, and these but very rare. Utterly useless thus to man and beast, the eye can no where discover the traces of either. The extremity of this range was the first mountain-pass traversed by the Bombay division of the Army of the Indus, on its way to Shikarpore.

About twenty miles from Hyderabad, on the left bank, is another tomb amidst a jungle; it is in the usual style of erections of this nature, but not so large or ancient as those previously alluded to. Hyderabad is distant one hundred and five miles from Sehwun, and two hundred and sixty-five from Sukkur.

During the period that the lion-hearted Major Outram was Resident at that court, no English traveller on the Indus ever failed to stop for a few hours, however urgent might have been his gallantry and bravery in his country's cause, and at the same time experience his hospitality, in the widest sense of the term. From the Presidency to Hyderabad is a gallop of three or four miles, partly over a rough sandy plain, and partly through cultivated fields. A visit to the capital of Sindh will well repay the traveller.

It is extensive, consisting of numerous lanes, seldom more than six feet in width, and so winding, that the eye can never obtain a view of more than a few feet ahead. Mud hovels are closely packed on each

side. The bazaar is tolerably straight, nearly double the width of any other portion of the city, and, above a mile in length; it is a scene of lively bustle, and so thronged with men, women and children, camels, horses and oxen (the latter loaded with forage, fuel and water), that very slow progress can be made through it; shops extend on either hand, from one extremity to the other, all open in front, with mud roofs supported by bamboo poles. In the rear of each is an enclosed chamber, in which the wares are deposited at night, the owners living and sleeping in front of the fastened door, and thus protecting their property from plunder. It is almost impossible to name anything, among the necessities of life, not obtainable in this bazaar, very few of its luxuries, indeed, not being also procurable. The principal shopkeepers are Hindoos, and their snow-white turbans, with large and projecting upper folds, tend greatly to set off the pleasing features of this handsome race of men, and contrast forcibly in their favor with the unbecoming worsted, peakless, military foraging cap, which is worn by all the lower orders, and even by the fighting Beloochees. The latter are a wild, savage-looking race, most of them armed to the teeth; and although more than three years have elapsed since peace was formally established between their government and that of the English, they still detest the sight of a white face, and on the rare occasion of their seeing one in the heart of their city, their hands involuntarily grasp the knives at their girdles, which they might probably be inclined to use, but for the presence of the armed and mounted escort, which the Resident is careful should accompany the curious traveller.

The women are, generally speaking, good-looking, while the children are invariably pretty. Among the inhabitants are many negro slaves of both sexes; whose slavery is, however, very light, and after a time they become incorporated, in a measure, with the families of their owners, though their intermarriage with the Sindians never occurs.

The only architectural objects in and around the city at all worthy of inspection are the fort, the mosques, and the tombs. The first frowns above the mud hovels that on one side closely hem it in, and the cannon on its battlements are in position to sweep the bazaar and other places likely, on account of the shelter they afford, to swarm with hostile foes. Dr Burnes describes it as "a paltry erection of ill-burnt bricks, crumbling gradually to decay, and perfectly incapable of withstanding for an hour the attack of regular troops." Major Outram adds: "its walls are built of brick, on a scarp generally from twenty to thirty feet in height, but at two places, where the ascent would be

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attained by means of the demolished wall, they are not above ten or fifteen feet high. Artillery would soon breach it." Dry moats only partially surround it, while at every elevation, and scarcely a yard apart, the walls are pierced with loop-holes mostly blocked up with stones. Hyderabad, during the inundations, is all but surrounded by a branch of the Indus, called the *Fulailee*, at other seasons being nearly dry.

In the Fort, reside the jointly ruling cousins and their families, who look upon the entrance of Europeans therein with an exceedingly jealous eye, and the practice has consequently been prohibited by the political authorities. Their treasure, in coin and jewels, is said to be immense, having been estimated at the value of twenty millions sterling. With such vast means, the Ameers might make their country as prosperous and happy as nature has evidently designed it to be; but, so far from doing this, their government is despotic in the extreme, and should any of their subjects amass a fortune, exceeding what their state of life renders necessary for their support, they are immediately sent for to the capital, and their hard-earned gains are made to swell the ill-gotten hoards lying unemployed in the strong rooms of their fort. Thus, spirit and enterprize are utterly discouraged, and it is not all surprising, that the inhabitants are the wretched beings they are pronounced to be by every one who has visited the country.

Of mosques, there are several, but none worthy of particular notice, the Sindians not appearing to be much given to devotion. One of their religious customs is somewhat curious: a tall flag-staff is erected on any vacant space in the town, with various ropes from near the summit attached to the ground; along these ropes are tied small sprigs of trees and leaves, as votive offerings.

The tombs are in all directions outside the inhabited portions of the city, and indeed closely approximating to them; some are plain, and others ornamented in the way peculiar to the Sindians; layers of paint, of various colors, being in the first instance laid on, and then such ornaments as are required, carved out. Very neat small globular and cylindrical boxes, painted in this manner, are obtainable here, as well as at Sukkur. Few of the *mausolea* have any pretensions to be admired; those however, of the reigning family, the *Talpoors*, as also the *Kaloras*, their predecessors in the government of Sind, are separated from the common tombs, and are lofty and imposing. Lieutenant Wood thus describes them:

"The tombs of the deceased members of the reigning family are

grouped a little apart from those of the preceding dynasty. Of the Talpoors, that of the reigning family, Mir Kurm Ali, is the only fine structure. Display characterized this chief in life, and a love of pomp seems to have gone down with him to the grave. It is a quadrangular building, with a turret rising from each corner, and a handsome central tomb. But the mausoleum of Gholam Shah, of the Kalora dynasty, displaced by the Talpoors, is far superior to all the others. Its figure resembles that of Kurm Ali, but without the corner turrets. The purest Parian marble lines the inside of the building, which is highly ornamented with mosaic work, and decorated with sentences from the Koran. The tombs of the Kaloras are neglected, but those of the reigning family are kept in tolerable repair."

The princes are exceedingly fond of the chase,—if such unsportman like proceedings as theirs, can have that term applied to them. On the banks of the river, are many thick forests, called *shikargahs*, consisting of trees of various sizes and of high jungle, for the most part surrounded by mud walls, five or six feet in height; some of them are miles in extent, and all are strictly preserved for the *Ameers*' exclusive use; the slightest infraction of their game-laws being punished with severity, even unto death. The principal and most prized of the game abounding in these forests, is deer; and it is a point of competition, among the cousins, which shall, in a certain time, possess himself of the greatest number, with the largest antlers, the result of his own skill; each having his own private hunting-grounds. Within each, are reservoirs of water, fenced round, and when the *Ameers* propose to shoot, the gates leading to them are kept closed until their Highnesses are ready to commence their murderous work; they then secrete themselves in their hunting-boxes which have apertures in all directions, from whence to pour a deadly charge upon the doomed animals when they rush to the element from which they have been so long debarred, and who thus fall an easy and inglorious prey. Night time in the favourite season for the sport. This foible might be termed harmless, were not their people considerable sufferers by it; the sites of the forests being the finest soil in the country, and villages being at times depopulated and destroyed, if they happen to be too near the sacred grounds. No sacrifice of revenue, however considerable, is allowed to interfere with these propensities, in some respects, reminding the reader of those of the Norman princes in early English history.

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Occasionally, the Government Steamers are lent to the *Ameers* to convey them from one hunting-ground to another. An officer of one, who had thus seen much of them, describes them as very affable and generous, but extremely ignorant; they daily furnished the commander's table with exquisite dishes, prepared by their own cooks, and on leaving the vessel presented the crew with five hundred rupees. Noor Mohammed and Nusseer Khan, sons of the late Mourad Ali, are not on good terms with their cousin and coadjutor in the sovereignty of Sindé, Sobdar Khan; and they consequently do not make excursions in company. Shahdad, the eldest son of Noor Mohammadi, is said to be perfectly English in his tastes, admiring all the customs of this country, and, though scarcely daring to give utterance to it, has the most ardent wish to visit Great Britain. Probably, the long looked-for death of his father, which has recently taken place, may now enable this young prince to accomplish his desire.

Throughout Sindé, the mode of washing is altogether different from that of India, where the clothes are beaten on large stones; whereas in Sindé, they are thumped with short thick sticks. It does not often happen, however, that such operations are witnessed here, the Sindians generally evincing a thorough contempt for cleanliness.

The Sikh and Sindian magnates do not appear partial to aquatic sports: the author met but one pleasure-boat between Ferozepore and the sea; this was near Sehwun and it was certainly very handsome, though in form very similar to those already described as in use in Lower Sindé; towards the stern, a number of elegant pillars supported a canopy forming a covered apartment of large dimensions open on all sides; while the stern itself was occupied by a domeshaped tent, of crimson cloth; every portion of the wood work which admitted of it, being beautifully and elaborately carved.

For many miles beyond Hyderabad, the left bank of the river is covered with detached table rocks, in length about a quarter of a mile, and forty or fifty feet in height, of the same description as that on which the fort is built and with the ends so gradually sloping, that they impress the beholder with the idea that they must be the result of art; they are utterly bare of verdure.

The only place of consequence between Hyderabad and Tatta, is the town of Jurruk, between the two. Nearer to Tatta, on the right bank, are other rocks similar in size and form to those just alluded to, but composed of a red loose stone, small stunted bushes being scattered over them; these, varied by the hunting-grounds already

named, jungle, occasional hamlets and small spots of cultivation, compose the scenery between Hyderabad and Tatta, a distance of seventy miles. Before reaching the latter, a deserted bed of the Indus is passed on the right, which presents a much more extensive body of water than the correct course, rendering a previous knowledge of the river necessary to prevent the boatman taking the wrong one, the strength of the stream appearing equal.

No view of Tatta is obtainable from the river, but there is generally a steamer at anchor, which will suffice to mark the spot at which parties desiring to visit the remains of its former greatness should disembark.

There are three ports of departure open to the choice of the traveller to Bombay.

First—Kurachee, but although named first, and being indeed the principal, it is by no means the most convenient one. In adopting it, the river boat must be left at the Ghaut, four or five miles inland from Tatta; a journey of sixty miles has thence to be undertaken, nearly equally divided between land and water, before attaining Kurachee. All the steamers from Bombay go there, and should none of them be returning, native boats in abundance may always be had, the journey between it and Tatta being the main difficulty and annoyance.

Second—Unnee. This is an insignificant place, little more in fact than the last fuel-station of the steam-boats, yet being in the main stream, leading to the present principal mouth of the Indus, the Kedywarree, some boats may generally be met with taking in cargo for Bombay. If a satisfactory choice can there be made, well; if not, there is.

Third—Gorabarree, or Vikuur, three miles inland from Unnee, and twenty from the sea, but on the bank of the Hujaumree branch of the river, which for some time previous to the year 1838, was the main channel. As it is the site of more extensive traffic than at Unnee, a greater selection of boats is possible there.

Formerly, when the Indus Steam Vessel was stationed at the mouth of the river, it was considered by many that the best plan of getting a boat was at once to proceed there, but this was a misapprehension, no boats were ever procurable so far down, and messengers had to be sent to procure them from one or other of the three places just named; Kurachee being distant forty miles, Gorabarree twenty, and Unnee sixteen. A day or two was thus inevitably lost, especially if the boat was hired at Gorabarree, as she had then to go out to see by the

SIMLA TO FEROZEPOR

Hujaumree mouth, the passenger being compelled to proceed in a small boat six or eight miles to meet her, beyond the bar, and giving unnecessary trouble to the commander and officers of the station steam vessel. The Bungalow people also are an imposing race; and no opportunity for competition or selection could be had when the latter mode was pursued, exorbitant sums for their hire being insisted upon. The fair average cost of passage for an individual in a boat fully laden with cargo is from sixty to eighty rupees; or for a smaller boat which is occupied to the exclusion of every thing else, from one hundred to one hundred and twenty.*

Steam navigation on the Indus, through the liberality of the Government, and under the control of the active and intelligent superintendent, Captain Carless, bids fair shortly to rival, if not out strip, that on the Ganges; indeed it has already effected that which may without exaggeration be termed an extraordinary undertaking; in the voyage of the Comet, a vessel of one hundred and thirty feet, in length, beyond Loodianna, on the Sutledge,** a distance from the sea of more than one thousand miles. Considering our very recent acquaintance with the river, it is not unreasonable to expect great advantages in every point of view from the more general use of steamers.

Had it not been, indeed, for the disturbance in Sind and the neighbouring states, a frequent and regular communication would ere this have been established between Bombay and Sukkur, and subsequently to Ferozepore; so obvious a benefit to the north-west of India, that it would be waste of time to point it out. A system has long been organised, and peaceful times are alone wanting to see it in full play. At present, there are five river-steamers, and more are building; they run from Sukkur to Tatta, and, when necessity requires it, even to the very Kedywarree mouth of the main river; but, as they are not regular in their dates of departure, they are only available by chance. No stronger evidence of their utility could be given, than the fact of one having lately conveyed from the sea to Sukkur no less than two hundred European troops, with the whole of their baggage, arms, and ammunition, in little more than a week; whereas other boats

*Literally to a spot where a river should cease to bear that name, but be more aptly designated, a mountain torrent flowing over a rocky bed.

**For more details regarding the boats & their accommodation, see the original text p. 205 and onward

would have occupied a couple of months; and this too, at a time when a reinforcement to the garrison at Sukkur, was not urgently required.

The arrangements as to freight and passage scarcely vary from those of the Calcutta steamers, detailed in the first chapter. There being no flat with an abundance of cabins, the latter are scarce, and the fixed rate of charge for them is six annas per mile, or three hundred and thirty-eight rupees from the sea to Ferozepore. The charge for cuddy berths, which assimilate to the saloon of an English steamer, is five annas, or two hundred and eighty-two rupees; for deck passengers, three annas, or one hundred and sixty-nine rupees for the entire distance; for children, extra-servants, soldiers, &c., one anna, or fifty-six rupees. Table-money, four rupees per diem, exclusive of wines.

The freight of treasure varies from two annas to one rupee per cent, according to its destination; and of measurement goods, from eight annas to two rupees per cubic foot, with the same deductions as in Calcutta for the downward voyage, on account of its rapidity.

The draught of water of these steamers does not exceed that of the Bengal boats. There is an efficient pilot establishment with stations between Ferozepore and Bhawulpore thirty miles distant from each other, and thence to the sea only twenty; two men are attached to each, who, when not actually employed, or in the immediate expectation of being so, are occupied in sounding and marked the constant changes that take place. These stations are likewise the depots for wood, that being the only fuel made use of. The boats are built of iron, each with two engines of thirty-five horse power; but their accommodations are very ill adapted for the hot regions they have to traverse, since they have no ports or skuttles in their sides, the only air admitted to the cabins being from the skylight. The engineers are better paid than the commanders; those even of the second class receiving a monthly allowance of between thirty and forty pounds sterling.

Another iron steam-vessel has been added to the flotilla, named the Satellite, and she has proved very useful in towing up heavy flat-boats loaded with troops; indeed, all the vessels have been employed incessantly conveying them and military stores to Sukkur, the continued unsettled state of the country still preventing their transmission higher up the river. Ill health has compelled Capt. Carless to return to England, and the command of the Steam Flotilla has consequently been given to Capt. Nott, of the same service.

The Account of J.P. Ferrier

The morning after my interview with Kohendil Khan was one of happier presage for me than I had expected; and as I looked round my beautiful prison I felt more at ease concerning my life, but very anxious to know how much longer my captivity would last. What Kohendil Khan had told me about the alliance between the Sikhs and the Afghans seemed to me incomprehensible; for from the remotest times these two nations, though forming one kingdom, had always been irreconcilable enemies. A great political change, therefore, must have taken place since my departure from Bagdad. When I left it I knew there was some disturbance in the Punjab, and that the English were watching it closely; but I had not thought that the conflict between them and the troops of the Maharaja was so near at hand; I thought I should arrive at Lahore at a propitious time, and obtain suitable employment, with the rank that I held in the Persian army; but all that I heard in Kandahar singularly diminished my hopes. Mohamed Sedik Khan had frequently spoken of the imminent danger of rupture between the Sikhs and the English, and had seized the opportunity of expressing his great wish to take part with the latter, if his services would be accepted by them. But according to the Afghan habit of divulging everything, even matters it is most important to conceal, he did not dissimulate that he and his father were ready to profit by another alliance, if the English refused their co-operation, and adding proofs to his assertions, he showed me several letters from Sikh, Belooch and Mahratta chiefs, which he was charged to send to his cousin Mohamed Akbar Khan of Kabul, establishing in the most positive manner evidence of the existence of a formidable league between them and the Afghan princes. These chiefs had mutually sworn on the Koran to strike in concert a decisive blow in the northern provinces of India, subject to the English, and the Sikhs especially claimed immediate aid from their allies, to support an offensive movement which they were preparing to make with the least possible delay against the army of the Company. I had looked upon Mohamed Sedik's confidence as merely a scheme for frightening me, without any object, by a false correspondence about the danger incurred by those whom he supposed to be my countrymen. The

subsequent revelations of his father induced me to give some credit to what he had said, and I began at last to think that the English were likely to have a serious struggle with their antagonists. Nevertheless I doubted not for a moment of their success, knowing well that a lasting union, amongst the coalesced Asiatic chieftains was thing impossible; they were different in nation and religion, and above all, in interests, submitting to no species of subordination, and each aspiring to sovereign power.

The result was just what I expected; for the Sikhs, having attacked the English four months after, gave way at Sobraon, notwithstanding the courage of which they gave proof, without having been assisted by those who were as much interested as themselves in their not being beaten by the Indo-British army.

The Belooches of Scinde, Kelat and Kharran, who had shown themselves the most furious in their correspondence, never raised a hand when the time came to take up arms; and a part of the force under Sir Charles Napier was enabled to quit this country, and effect a diversion useful to the Bengal army, by moving towards Multan.

The corps of 800 horsemen sent by Dost Mohamed to help the Sikhs did not arrive at Peshawur before the English had beaten them at Sobraon and crossed the Sutlej. It was the same with the thousand cavalry that went out of Kandahar under the orders of Mohamed Omar Khan, second son of Kohendil Khan; they heard of the rout of the Sikhs on the second day of their march; and he was so frightened at anticipated punishment that he forbade the soldiers on pain of death saying that they had set out to fight the English, and had it reported that they were simply in search of brigands amongst the Belooches dependent on Kandahar.

Every progressive step of the British in India has been marked by similar events; there have always been leagues against them, but of materials too heterogeneous to offer any effectual opposition. The superiority of their policy and arms has insured them their colossal dominions; and whatever may be said in Europe, their firmly-seated power is less odious than that of the tyrants they have dispossessed, and will last for ages, if not attacked by any European nation.

The public press protests daily against the grasping tendency of England and Russia; and it is, I own, reasonable for less favoured nations to be alarmed at it. But is it not the fault of those who allowed them to act upon it? what can the papers hope to do by vain and sterile words? when a flood is not restrained by Russia and of England,

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which have for a long time destroyed the equilibrium which the treaties of 1815 were intended to secure in Europe. The fortunate possessors of India and the Caucasus, to empires more vast than either the Roman or the Macedonian, and whose fate is in the one case in the hands of the most absolute, the most severe, and the most ambitious of sovereigns; and the other in those of the too selfish, egotistical, and calculating Company of London Merchants, who, tranquilly seated behind their counters, enjoy without trouble the revenues of opulent Asia.

These immense empires have now attained limits which might content the most unbridled ambition; but there is an unseen power, stronger than their will, which impels Russia and England to seize upon the countries that lie between them. They obey this impulse inspite of themselves, in spite of reason, in spite of their conviction of the danger to themselves in augmenting their territories. They cannot resist it, much as they may endeavour to do so. Once entered on the path of conquest, it became impossible for them to maintain the limits they had proposed to themselves, and within which wisdom dictated they should remain. Let us take a glance at the necessity for these invasions, and begin with the English in this retrospective sketch.

The obstacles which they encountered and wished to vanquish arose more especially from the petty independent princes their neighbours, who passed their whole lives in intrigues, and unceasingly maintained an underhand war, of which it was impossible for them to unravel the policy or prove its hostility, so as to meet the enemy fairly in the field. They have been obliged to meet him with his own weapons; in that manner only could they consolidate their power over their early conquests. Then, to put an end to India, duplicity which kept them in continual uncertainty, they threw off all reserve, and openly acknowledged a policy which, however much in accordance with oriental practice, could not be sanctioned by moral, and international laws, to subdue these faithless princes, who, in truth, were lawless depredators. It is far from my intention to applaud the means by which the English became possessed to some of these principalities; but it is impossible not to admit that, to possess them,* they could not act otherwise. Our ideas of morals and politics do not coincide with those of Asiatics; and it is just because we judge of circumstances

*Rather, with justice, say, "*to secure their own possession they could not,*" &c. — L.

which concern them from our point of view, and never from theirs, that we make such frequent mistakes. They simply make a joke of all loyalty and treaties and the most sacred oaths; and all these dispossessed Rajahs and Emirs were so many tyrants, oppressing those whom they ruled with a rod of iron, and the traveller who witnesses the effects of their tyranny and cruelty, or who has lived under their laws, feels little pity for them.

It may be regretted that on the English only devolves the mission of succeeding them, on account of the frightful expansion of the British power, the weight of which is already felt in every part of the world. I do not contest the point; but then the question must be looked at with regard to that only, and not as a matter of compassion for these sanguinary and avaricious princes, and we must refrain from raising a hue and cry in favour of these perfect scourges of humanity, exercising, for the most part, a usurped authority, and always maintaining it by a series of crimes. To say that the English might have done more than they have done for the material amelioration of their Asiatic subjects would be risking very little; but the moral transformation of them would be quite another thing—this is a question which involves a careful review of many important circumstances. Before any other would come the consideration of the consequences resulting from changes made too suddenly, without allowing time for gradual transition. Amongst so many native populations, whose origin and habits are so various, hasty changes—such as some well-meaning people have thought would insure their happiness—would very probably only astonish them, and provoke irregularities, the sad consequences of which might be avoided by awaiting the effects of time, patience, and the judicious and persevering application of the principles of mixed government; causing the rational and vivifying European system progressively to succeed the enervating and anarchical governments of the native sovereigns.

By founding entirely European governments the English would not at once amalgamate the various elements of which their Indian empire is composed. It would take many years to bring about unity of administration; and they would have to use force to surmount many difficulties, it being the sole means in that country of completely developing its resources, and destroying the rivalry of existing races. But the power of England is much too solidly settled on the banks of the Indus for her to dread the disasters with which the press threatens her

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by means of the conquered nations. So true has that been, that every revolt, every attack that she has had to repress for the last fifty years, has only given her the opportunity of a fresh triumph.

If there has been one instance to the contrary, of which in 1841 Afghanistan was the theatre, its existence may be traced to circumstances perfectly exceptional; above all to the imprudence of the English Government, in sending their troops so far from the base of their operations, and yielding a sense of security which there was nothing to justify. Enlightened by their misfortunes at Kabul, their vigilance has not failed them a second time; and the revolt of the Sikhs in 1848 proved once more that India belongs to the English, and cannot be taken from them by any of the native power. An European nation only could wrench it from them. Their power is too firmly rooted to be shaken by any Indian conspiracies. I shall not, as most authors who have written upon this country, indulge in sterile declamation against the unmeasured and insatiable ambition of the English; first, because with them conquest is a question of their existence in India until it is completely absorbed; and, secondly, because I should like to know what state would abstain from increasing its well-being, prosperity, and grandeur, when it had the power of so doing.

What I heard and saw in Afghanistan gave me the most profound conviction that the moment the British flag is seen in an Asiatic state the shameless government in force under the native ruler is replaced, if not by abundance certainly by security and justice. However burdensome the taxation of the English may be, it is always far less so than that extorted by Native princes, who add persecution to rapacity. I have naturally adopted these opinions from hearing the Afghans, so hostile to the English, sigh for the loss of their administrative system. The Sirdars, Mollahs, Syuds, and soldiers, classes who live by plundering the industrious portion of the inhabitants, were always declaiming against the English, because under them they could not practise their iniquities. The people were irritated, it is true, because their prejudices had been shocked, and rose to shake off their yoke; but now they regret them; and I have twenty times heard Afghans speak in terms of just appreciation of what they had done for their good.*

*It is satisfactory, to Englishmen generally, to observe the manner in which an intelligent French traveller alludes to their rule in Afghanistan; but, to the few surviving officers of the mission to Herat, it is especially gratifying, as M. Ferrier's impressions are derived from what he witnessed and heard in that quarter. Although the mission to Herat failed in its immediate object, from circumstances by no means discreditable to the officers who composed it, and Major Todd was severely censured for a time, there can be little doubt that, of all our transaction in Afghanistan, there are none on which we can look back with greater pleasure—certainly none more honourable to our creed and country, than our proceedings at Herat. —L.

They remembered with gratitude their justice, their gratuitous care of the sick in the hospitals; the presents of money any clothes they received when they left them cured; the repairs of their public works, and the extension of commerce and agriculture owing to their encouragement. These, it is true, were the expressions of a newly-conquered people. They were brave; and it was good policy to tame them with kindness: and they were certainly less taxed than other parts of the British dominions in India, though what I relate is not the less true; and after exhausting all their praises of their unfortunate conquerors, they would finish up by—"What a pity they were not Mussulmans like us; we would never have had any other masters!" After hearing such observations, is it not allowable to regret, in the name of humanity and civilisation, that the British power was not consolidated in Afghanistan, whatever means might have been employed to attain that end? For my part, I should much have preferred to the melancholy perspective of seeing the country consigned to lasting barbarism, either in the government of its own chiefs, and the continuance of ancient circumstances, or under the influence of Russia, whose civilising tendencies are small indeed.

The Czars have never had any inclination to civilise the masses. The ancient barbarism of the Muscovite empire is modified only in the upper classes. The middle classes and the *mujiks* are just where they were when Ghengis Khan and his Tartars appeared amongst them. How is it, then, that with everything to be done at home, the Emperor of Russia should have the presumption in these days to aspire to be arbiter of the destinies of the old World? Constantinople, towards which he extends his right hand, appears insufficient for the gratification of his ambition, for the left is at the same time seeking to grasp India. How is it that this empire, that scarcely two centuries ago was almost unknown—certainly had scarcely emerged from the regions of the icy pole—has acquired such preponderance in Europe? Russia has continued to extend the radius of her power from the hour when the Western nations permitted the dismemberment of Poland. The wars at the commencement of that century brought out in relief the real valour of her soldiers; but the fatal disaster of 1812—disaster of which the elements were the principal cause—was wanting to give her the influence that she has possessed ever since. From that epoch must be dated the real importance of Russia. She has never since then neglected an opportunity of throwing her weight into Europe; and her acute foresight is especially observable, when, favoured by events, she co-

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operated in the reconstruction of the kingdom of Greece. After this she subdued the Tartars.

Since the treaty of Adrianople her influence at the Porte has become almost sovereign: the treaty of Turkmantchai confirmed it equally in Persia. She had nothing then to fear in Asia, and turned towards the West, and threatened to arrest the course of events in France in 1830. Poland, however, her advanced guard, faced about, and, attacking her with vigour, for some months held the sword of Damocles suspended over her head. Thanks to this generous diversion, Europe may yet be called free. Poland, however, has been sacrificed; for, left to her own resources, she sank under the pitiless dominion that she sought so earnestly to shake off. The Russian government, powerless this time to subjugate Europe, threw itself a fresh upon Asia, and pushed its encroachments on that side with greater ardour than ever. It approached at the same time Constantinople and Herat. It seeks not impregnable frontiers for itself, for Russia is covered on the south by tremendous natural obstacles; this movement is only the persevering and consistent carrying out of the will of Peter the Great. It is the craving for universal dominion he bequeathed to his successors, and each has endeavoured, so far as in him lay, to accomplish it triumphantly.

The Emperor Nicholas has staked his honour upon it, and he will not rest till he has extended his empire to the Indus in Asia, and to the Dardanelles in Europe. This ambitious project is revealed in all his transactions with the Sultan, and in the pressure that he exerted in 1836 and in 1837 on the Shah of Persia, by obliging him to besiege Herat. The checks that he encountered did not repulse him; they only rendered him more tenacious and more vigilant than ever: but in order that we may be perfectly fair, let us at once acknowledge that the Emperor Nicholas has made but trifling use of the cunning and address so often employed by the English, who are always anxious to keep up appearances on the score of rectitude. He has justified his course by the power of his armies, and cared but little for what the world's opinion of it might be. Taking advantage with much judgment of the opportunity left him of subjugating Turkey and Persia, he made them his vassals. The occupation of Moldo-Wallachian provinces, which he reserved to himself in the treaty of Adrianople, has enabled him to throw all his weight upon the Divan whenever he wished to alarm the Sultan; and under the same treaty, and that of Turkmantchai, he has enticed into the Transcaucasian provinces the

Armenian population subject to the Turks and Persians ; in fact, he has neglected no opportunity of placing himself in the position of arbitrator between the Sultan and his subjects. He has been perhaps, even more exacting with the Shah of Persia, who now governs his own empire only by the prompting of the Czar's will, leaving him the upper hand in the administration of his finest provinces.

If complaint is sometimes made, and with reason, of the little interest manifested by the Indo-British government on certain question respecting the welfare and moral amelioration of its provinces, what will be said if the veil were removed from the secrets, not very well kept either, of the administration of the Russians in their new conquests ? The venality of the public functionaries passes all that the force of imagination can depict; peculations and depredations are permanent; and they so crushed the Christian population (who moved from the Pashalik of Erzeroum and Azerbijan into the province of Eriven), and made them so wretched, that they bitterly regret their migration, and are no deterred from attempt to escape and return to the Mussulman dominions by any severity employed against them if detected. Such is not the fate of the Christians of the south of Turkey and Persia. Those who emigrate to India, find with the English liberty and security, and may always, with a little intelligence, realise a small fortune, which is in no danger from the functionaries of that government—under the Russians all hopes are prematurely blighted.

This contrast between the extension of the Russian empire and its internal disorder shows that the Czar has much to do before he can justify the pretensions he has set up to universal dominion. I repeat, therefore, that the point to be regretted in the conquests of the Russians and the English is, that it will destroy the equilibrium between these nations and other European states, and throw into their hands and amount of power and riches but little encouraging for the political independence of their neighbours. I frankly acknowledge that I took with terror on the success of Russia, for her rule will set barbarism in array against civilisation, and from that antagonism there would be nothing good to hope.

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The English nation, in all ages, have prominently shown the love of wealth, and that has induced them to commit many actions not justifiable by European morality; it is not my object to defend those actions, but England has in my eyes partly redeemed the wrongs she has committed by introducing unquestionable ameliorations in the countries where she has established her power. As it is impossible for me to say the same of Russia, it is easy to understand why my sympathies are not engaged on her side. In conclusion, the other powers of Europe will only have themselves to thank for the misfortunes that these two countries may one day inflict upon them at home—Europe to one, Asia to the other; it will only be the just reward of the indifference with which they have seen their encroachments; Not that I think that the other states ought to each in due proportion. It would only have required a better understanding amongst themselves; but that was too much trouble! What matter to them these unknown and distant countries? Rather than take the trouble to become acquainted with them, they thought no more about them. England and Russia could desire no better; for while others slept in delusive security they acquired territories which doubled their power. The great European governments will not discover the evil of their want of vigilance till it is past remedy—too late for them to arrest the disastrous consequences.

The foregoing ought naturally to interest the reader in all that concerns India, and he will no doubt be glad to examine the following tabular statement of the extent and population of the British empire in that country, its tributary states and allies, and the independent states on the frontiers. This will show at one glance the immense importance of the interests attached to the safety of the Anglo-Indian possessions.

The Conquests Of England And Russia

BRITISH TERRITORY.	Square Miles	Population.
Presidency of Bengal	328,000	57,500,000
" Madras	154,000	15,000,000
" Bombay	11,000	2,500,000
Territory of the Deccan, acquired since 1815, and forming part of the Presidency of Bombay	60,000	<u>8,000,000</u>
	553,000	83,000,000
ALLIES AND NATIONS TRI- BUTARY TO THE ENGLISH.		
1. The Rajah of Mysore	27,000	3,000,000
2. The Nizam	96,000	10,000,000
3. The Rajah of Nagpore	70,000	3,000,000
4. The King of Oude	20,000	3,000,000
5. The Guicowar	18,000	2,000,000
6. Bhopal, 5000; Kotah, 6500; Boondi, 2500	14,000	1,500,000
7. The Rajah of Sattara	14,000	1,500,000
8. The Rajah of Travancore, 6000; Cochin, 2000	8,000	1,000,000
9. The Rajah of Jyepore, Odey- pore, Bikaneer, and other Chiefs of Rajpootana		
10. Holkar	288,000	15,000,000
11. Sikhs--Gonds, Bheels, Koolis, and Kattis		
	1,108,000	123,000,000
INDEPENDENT STATES		
1. Scinde	30,000	4,000,000
2. Rajah of Nepaul	53,000	2,000,000
3. Rajah of Lahore	50,000	3,000,000
4. The Emirs of Scinde	24,000	1,000,000
5. Afghanistan	18,000	1,000,000
General Total	1,283,000	134,000,000

The conquest of Russia during the same period have been as follows :—

	Square Miles.	Population.
Provinces conquered from Poland...	10,498	11,950,000
German provinces conquered from Poland and Sweden	735,000	2,715,000
Provinces conquered in European Turkey	4,517,000	1,902,000
Provinces conquered from the Cossacks and Tartars in Europe	4,893,000	3,289,000
Provinces conquered in Asia	115,000	1,500,000
	10,270,498	21,356,000

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It will be seen by the foregoing statement that the extension of territory by the Russians is in square miles upwards of ten millions, while that acquired by the English in Asia has been little beyond one million. With the exception of Nepaul and Afghanistan, the powers that are mentioned as independent in the preceding Table (1842) have been brought within the list of conquered countries. Scinde has been annexed, and if we turn our eyes to the Punjab, we shall there find that another fragment of the Afghan kingdom passed under the dominion of the English, apparently without the least wish in the world on the part of the Company

To persons who look no further back than the events that have happened since the death of Shere Sing, the last king of Lahore but one, it cannot be doubted that the Sikhs were the aggressors, and voluntarily brought upon themselves the hostility of the English; but that is only because the latter, knowing perfectly well the former would some day furnish them with legitimate grounds for an invasion, persevered quietly in a system of ostensible inaction, though it had been their secret policy for years to add the district of the Punjab, or the Five Rivers, to their possessions. It is now theirs; and it is only necessary to say a few words as to the manner in which they succeeded.

The province of the Punjab was raised to the rank of one of the most flourishing kingdoms of Hindostan by genius of a man of humble birth and without education. Runjeet Singh was originally only a petty chief, and appointed governor of Lahore by the king of the Afghans, Zeman Shah. Favoured by the dissensions between this prince and his brothers, he made entirely independent, and soon* added to the province confided to his care Kashmir, Peshawur, Kohat, Dereh Ismael Khan, and, Mooltan, which accessions of territory rendered his power equal, if not superior, to that of his former master.

The English, his southern neighbours, did not see without jealousy a state rising into power close to them, which might prevent their encroachments towards the north; and they endeavoured

*Runjeet did not extend his conquests to Kashmir, Mooltan, Peshawur, or even beyond the Jelum, until he was assured of the specific intentions of the English. It is very doubtful whether he ever required the advice of the French officers in his service to restrain him from attacking us. The characters of the several French officers described in the 'Adventurer in the Punjab,' already alluded to — L.

therefore, secretly to undermine it from the commencement, leaving the Maharajah to believe that they sincerely desired his alliance.*

Runjeet, however, penetrated their designs, and to prepare himself the better to resist them successfully, should a war break out between them, engaged the services of several officer who had served the Emperor Napoleon—Messrs. Allard, Court, Ventura, and Avitabile (the two first Frenchmen, the third a Milanese, and the fourth a Neapolitan), whose honourable reputation is sufficiently established in Europe for me to dispense with an eulogium here, that has been already so much better made by others. But I cannot refrain from saying that they not only became his right hand in organising the Sikh army on the French system, but by their judicious advice restrained his impetuosity for war when it might have perilled his reputation for ability, and endangered his rising power. This was not the least of the services they rendered him, and those who think differently in Europe know neither Asia nor the character of its

*A more correct impression of the policy of the English Government may be obtained from Kaye's Life of Lord Metcalfe. A note at page 131 of Lawrence's 'Adventurer in the Punjab,' also describes the circumstances under which Lord Metcalfe made known to Runjeet our wish to restrict him to the Sutlej as a boundary. Kaye has found nothing in Lord Metcalfe's papers referring to the circumstance, and discredits it; but Lawrence's informant had it from Lord Metcalfe' own lips at Agra, in 1837, about the time General Ventura waited on him there by order of Runjeet Singh, and, to the best of his recollection, Lord Metcalfe stated that it occurred at Kussor.

On taking charge of the Maharajah's treasury at Lahore, in 1849, a small miniature of Lord Metcalfe was found, bearing, an inscription, probably in the handwriting of Fakir Azzeezoodeen :—'Mister Charles Metcalfe. Sahib Bahadoor, Dost-Kudeem,' (an old friend).

We are indebted to Lord Metcalfe, and to Fakir Azzeezoodeen—Runjeet's confidential adviser—for the favourable impression which the old Lion entertained of us, and which he continued to have up to his death, notwithstanding many attempts to arouse his suspicions against us.

It was told the writer of this note at Lahore, in 1849, that when our Government had, through the agent at Loodianah, on one occasion, asked permission of Runjeet Singh for an English traveller to visit Cashmere, Gholab Singh strongly dissuaded the Maharajah from granting it, and expressed his suspicions as to our motives in asking for it. Whereupon Runjeet immediately ordered him away from the Durbar; declared his high confidence in our Government, and his readiness to meet their wishes in every way; and did not permit Gholab Singh to make his appearance again at the Court until he had paid a heavy fine. The person who related this anecdote was the late Fakir Ncoroodeen, to whom English men have also been much indebted for many kind offices at Lahore.—L.

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inhabitants, and still less the resources of every description possessed by the East India Company.

However, that may be, Runjeet Singh always avoided compromising himself with the English; and, without ceasing to mistrust them he constantly kept up friendly relations with their government, which was eager to support him, with the view of confirming him in the possession of the Afghan provinces which he had seized without right or excuse. It should be added, that if the Directors gave their support on this occasion to Runjeet Singh, it was less from sympathy with that prince than with the intention of preparing the way to gaining eventually for themselves the provinces of which he despoiled the Afghans, and which they had long since destined to be their own, though they had the prudence not to attempt the conquest during the life-time of Runjeet Singh.* If, after the death of that sovereign in 1839, his kingdom fell rapidly to decay, it was the fault of his heirs and successors, who could not continue his intelligent policy.

His son, Karrack Singh, was a hopeless nobody, poisoned at the end of the first year of his reign, just when his folly had engaged him in a war with the Company, whose army was marching against him 25 000 strong, and stopped on its way only on hearing of his death. His son, Nahal Singh, of whose character some hopes were entertained, was crushed the morning after his accession by the falling of a beam upon his head as he was passing under one of the town gates. The death of these two princes extinguished, according to the opinion of the Sikhs, the legitimate succession from Runjeet Singh; for the old Maharajah had always, right or wrong, disowned

*M. Ferrier has misunderstood the policy of the English Government; for, although they occupied Afghanistan for defensive purpose, which they now know to have been unnecessary, they have had no wish, for many years, to enlarge, their territories. They were perfectly satisfied with the Sutlej as a frontier, and it was considered by no means a bad one. Had Runjeet Singh's successors shown equal confidence in our policy it might have continued our boundary until the present day; but then it is doubtful whether, for years to come, we could have seen railroads in India or even the completion of the Ganges canal.

When asked, by one of Runjeet Singh's successors, why railroads had not been laid down in India, as well as in England, it was not difficult to make him understand, that while a large insubordinate army occupied the Punjab, threatening our north-western frontier, and talking, freely, of what they were to do at Delhi, Benares, and Calcutta, Government found use for all the spare revenues of India, in keeping up sufficient force to protect its subjects against such an invasion; but now that this danger no longer exists, and this drain on their resources has been removed, they can afford to pay interest on large advances for railways, and convert their "iradas."

his third son, Shere Singh, whose father was said to have been one of the officers of his court.*

He was, however, none the less elevated to the sovereign power at the death of Nahal Singh, and succeeded in suppressing, though not without some trouble, the partial revolts by which he was opposed. This prince possessed sufficient intellect and decision of character to have consolidated his kingdom on the basis-established by his father; but his excesses, and particularly the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, turned him from the worthy course on which he had entered.

From that time the Sikhs relaxed in their obedience; there were conspiracies in every town in the Punjab; and, after three years' reign, Shere Singh came, like his predecessors, to a premature death by assassination. It was a general of his own army who committed the treacherous deed on the 15th of September, 1843. Having pretended to the Maharajah that he wished to show him an improvement in the equipment of his dragoons, Ajit Singh brought into the palace court six troops in the altered uniforms, and drew them up in line for inspection, when, in compliance with his request, Shere Singh placed himself on a balcony to look at them; but the unsuspecting prince had scarcely done so when he received a volley from the villains, one of whose balls struck him on the forehead and laid him dead on the floor.¹ His unfortunate young son, Pretab Singh, only ten years of age, who was with him at the time, was murdered with swords while kneeling at his prayers by other remorseless wretches, who had rushed into the palace.

After this atrocious villany, Ajit Singh and his brother, also a general in the army of the murdered king, possessed themselves of the fortress of Lahore, and succeeded in attracting to it the Rajah Dyan Singh, first minister of Shere Singh; they put him to death also, and then appealed to the people in the name of liberty, taking for their motto, "No more masters; death of English;" for one of the most murdered their sovereign, and summoned their countrymen to arms,

(lines of roads marked out--literally "good intention") into metalled roads. As if to make amends, so far as he could, for having been in any way an obstacle to so great an improvement, he expressed his readiness to take shares in the East India Railway.--L.

*For a correct account of all these events, see Cunningham's "Sikhs." Consult also Carmichael's "Reigning Family in the Punjab."--Ed.

1. Ajeet Singh shot the Maharajah with his own hand with a double-barrelled rifle, which he asked the Prince to examine, to throw him off his guard.--L.

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was the cordial understanding that existed between him and the East India Company.

To this they attributed all the evils, real or imaginary, that weighed upon the kingdom; but the people showed themselves very little inclined to support them; and the troops, cantoned within a couple of hours' march of Lahore, responded to the harangue of Heera Singh, son of the murdered minister. They declared against his assassins, and arrived in the town the next morning, commanded by General Ventura, when a cannonade of a few hours, and an assault, sufficed to reduce the fortress and place it in the power of the assailants. Ajit Singh and his brother were taken and put to death; but this did not repair the evil they had done, for the difficulty still remained of finding a man capable of holding the reins of government.

The first person thought of was Gholab Singh, the brother of Dyan Singh, a very influential man in the country; but he declined the proffered honour, for his accepting it might have created new difficulties; the Sikhs refused his conditions, and the revolted soldiery threatened his life. In his place therefore was substituted a child, Duleep Singh, whose mother, the Maharanee Chanda, Jinda was charged to exercise the ruling power during her son's minority, and she associated with her quality of regent her brother Jovaher Singh, a man disgraced by more than one crime.

Duleep Singh, the youngest acknowledged son of Runjeet Singh, born about ten months before the old Lion's death, was placed on the throne by the Sikhs. The two first years of his reign were troubled by incessant disasters and crimes provoked by the Sirdars, and an undisciplined soldiery gave the law to government. The result was general confusion, and the appearance of many pretenders to the throne, of whom Peshora Singh, a prince of the family of Runjeet, supported by Gholab Singh, had succeeded possessing himself of Sealkote, Attock, and Peshawur, and in drawing to his standard a great part of the army. After these successes he entered into a negotiation with Dost Mohamed of Kabul, promising to cede Peshawur to him if he would assist him in dethroning Duleep Singh. Dost Mohamed readily accepted this advantageous proposition, which would replace under his power the province that had cost so much blood between the Sikhs and Afghans; and that was the arrangement of which Kohendil Khan had spoken to me, concealing at the same time that the alliance of his brother was with the party aspiring to power, and not the party who possessed it. Thus stood the affairs of these two countries when I

left Afghanistan, after Dost Mohamed Khan had altered his plan of alliance with the Sikhs on account of the death of Peshora Singh, and some other sanguinary incidents of which the following is a short summary.

Maharanee Chanda and her brother the regent, Jovaher Singh, seeing the cause of Duleep Singh deserted by the army for that of his competitor, resolved upon putting Peshora Singh out of their way, and for this purpose despatched Chuttur Singh, furnished with a royal firman, countersigned by the queen and her brother, promising to secure the regency to him if he would come to Lahore to take the reins of government, and thus put an end to the dissensions that enfeebled the state. Peshora Singh, to whom the envoy had also remitted a false letter with the pretended sign and seal of Golab Singh at the bottom of it, begging him to accept the regency, acted under the advice which he supposed emanated from his protectors, and imprudently started with Chuttur Singh for the capital, accompanied only by a few servants, and leaving at Attock the troops that were devoted to him.*

This was a most unfortunate determination, for on the journey, in the night of the 13th of September, 1845, Chuttur Singh entered his tent and beheaded the prince as he lay asleep. The ill-fated victim was then only a few leagues from Lahore, and a vague rumour of the crime reached the garrison; the soldiers rose in the outmost indignation against the authors of it, and devoted three whole days to the most minute investigation as to what had befallen Peshora Singh, but the search was entirely fruitless.

On the 16th of September they presented themselves tumultuously before the residence of Jovaher Singh, and imperatively demanded his acknowledgment of the crime and the details respecting it, or the immediate liberation of the prince if he were still alive and a prisoner. The regent swore to them that he was alive and would be in Lahore in a few days; and sought by a thousand subterfuges to calm their just irritation. His reply not having satisfied any one, on the morning of the 17th a deputation of officers claimed an audience of the queen, to obtain authentic information; threatening, in case of refusal, to put her to death, with the rest of the royal family. Maharanee Chanda ordered three of her ministers to accompany this deputation back to the camp,

*For a correct account of the murder of Peshora Singh, see Cunningham's 'History of the Sikhs.' Cunningham's facts may be generally depended upon, although his inferences are not always correct. Chuttur Singh was a chief of rank, and influence in the time of Runjeet; Peshora Singh was murdered at Attock.-L.

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charged, she said, to give explanations to the troops; but they, instead of satisfying them, gave evasive replies to their most searching questions, and attempted to appease them with valuable presents, which were indignantly refused. The ministers saved their lives only by declaring that the prince was still alive; and pacified for a short space by this reiterated assurance, the soldiers waited the return of Peshora Singh till the morrow, when, as he did not arrive, they broke out in the most fearful tumult.

The queen, perceiving the imminence of the danger, resolved to tell the truth to the negotiators of the previous day, and desire them to inform the troops of the prince's death; to represent the inutility of their menaces and lamentations, as they could not recall him to life; and to recommend them to resign themselves, and resume their tranquillity, as the only rational course in such a case. This advice procured the envoys very bad treatment; and, having given them in charge to the camp-guard, the troops went in a body to the palace, and, with terrific shouts and howlings, commanded the queen and her brother to show themselves, and justify their conduct, on pain of immediate death. They also informed them of their intention of replacing Duleep Singh by a son of Shere Singh's, yet alive.

The negotiations lasted till the 20th of September; Jovaher Singh strongly advised that the palace should be defended to the last, and, as a prelude to the defence, to commit another murder. The son of the unfortunate Shere Singh was in the palace, and Jovahar Singh wanted to throw this young prince's head at the insurgents.** Hapily one of the ministers, sent from the guard at the camp by the troops with a truce, arrived at this juncture, and persuaded the Queen of her utter uselessness of this new crime, and the perfect security in which she might place her own life and that of her son. The Maharanee was for once convinced, and, besides, seeing herself abandoned by her servants, she no longer refused to surrender to the troops. In the evening of the 21st she took her way towards the camp situated on the plain of miyan Mir, carried in a palanquin, and followed by the Regent and the King Duleep Singh, mounted on the same elephant; a very scanty escort of women and devoted servants accompanied them. Half way to their destination the royal party met several battalions of infantry coming from the camp in a state of great irritation

**The circumstances here stated may be true, but have not been mentioned by any previous writer.-L.

to assault the palace under the impression that the Maharanee still refused to come out to them and justify herself; but seeing her on her way, accompanied by her son and brother, they ranged themselves in silence on each side of the cortege of degraded royalty, and escorted them into the camp, where the Queen was at once made prisoner, and placed in a soldier's tent.

They then ordered the man who drove the elephant, on which were seated the youthful King and his guilty regent, to make the animal kneel, to enable them to remove Duleep Singh from the howdah. While the boy was being lifted out, the soldiers fired a volley at Jovahar Singh, which caused the elephant to swerve, and the child, bespattered with his uncle's blood, to fall forward into his servant's arms. Javaher Singh fell dead in the howdah. Duleep Singh was then placed under a guard in the same tent as his mother. With the wretch Jovaher, whose life was stained with so many crimes, died with two of his principal officers, who had advised and participated in all his villainies; this execution having satisfied the troops, the Queen and her son were kept in the camp all night. On the following morning they were allowed to return to the palace; being warned, for the hundredth time, not to treat with the English, as she valued her own life and that of her son, for the most frightful deaths awaited them if she should transgress the injunction.

Maharanee Chanda, overwhelmed by the death of her brother, at first refused to direct the affairs of the government; and as a report of the advance of the English to invade the Punjab was then very generally credited by the Sikhs, the position appeared sufficiently critical to some of the chiefs; for they decided upon writing to Gholab Singh, who had retired to Jamboo, to put himself at their head, promising to bring the troops to passive obedience, to renounce all augmentation of pay, and the settlement of their arrears. The old Rajah had once before been taken in the same snare, had trusted to the same false promises; his life had been in great jeopardy in the midst of the undisciplined troops, and was preserved only by a species of miracle. He refused therefore to respond to the appeal of the Sirdars; he sent them, however, one of his lieutenants, named Miyan Perthi Singh, charged to make known to them the conditions on which he would act, of which the following is the tenor:—

- 1st. To place absolute power in his hands.
- 2nd. To give him the right of life and death over the nobles, the people, and the army.
- 3rd. The pay of the soldiers to be reduced to what it was in the

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reign of Ranjeet Singh.

Such was then the state of anarchy, and the necessity of a strong government at Lahore, that these hard conditions were accepted almost without an exception; Gholab Singh had hoped the contrary; and finding himself at a difficulty for an excuse for not accepting the responsibility, pretended that ill health detained him in the mountains, and never went to Lahore. The Sirdars, therefore, were driven to ask the Queen to assume once more the royal authority, and she consented, not, however, without expressing her resentment at the death of her brother, and her determination to punish the assassins. She also made known her disapprobation of the application to Gholab Singh, promising, however, to think no more of it if his lieutenant was sent to a safe retreat, and sharply watched, to prevent his interfering with the government. The Sirdars having given up these points, she resumed her power with truly masculine spirit; but she was feebly seconded by the ambitious chiefs. It was impossible for her to re-establish order in the country; and, unable to oppose a contest with the English, for which the troops were clamorous, she was obliged to permit it to save her own life and her son's. The time had arrived when the fate of the Punjab was to be accomplished.

The Sikhs having crossed the Sutlej in the following December, to attack the English, were beaten by them, and driven back to the river, near Sobraon, making their retreat in great disorder, after very heavy losses, and the Indo-British army entered Lahore without further opposition. Then came the first phase of subjection in this nation, so proud and so hostile to the English, who, in order to carry out to the last the appearance of moderation, hitherto so well maintained, placed themselves simply in the position of the protectors of royalty and the pacifiers of the country. Duleep Singh was maintained in the sovereign power, and provided with ministers of his own nation; but their nomination being subordinate to the good pleasure of the English, the British resident was, in fact, the supreme governmental power at Lahore. The army re-organised, was commanded by British officers exclusively;* and as the old Sirdar, Gholab Singh, had the dexterity to preserve the

*In this M. Ferrier is incorrect. The French officers had certainly left or been removed from the Sikh army, but no British officers were substituted in command of brigades or battalions. The army was officered by natives of the Punjab in whom the Durbar had confidence.-L.

friendship of the protectors, he was provided with the independent government of Kashmir, on condition of paying annually, and only for the purpose of constituting a species of vassalage, the tribute of a shawl and a goat. This province was as difficult for them to invade as to preserve; and the English had quite enough work on their hands in the Punjab without going to Kashmir to seek for more. The appointment of Gholab Singh, therefore, was a very good means of establishing the rights of sovereignty over it, until an opportunity offered of rendering its subjection as complete as that of the Punjab.

It was evident that a people so irritated against the English as the Sikhs, were sure to turn against them the little liberty they had left; and consequently the British agents passed the first two years in the midst of continual agitation, at which in secret they were not altogether displeased—they, therefore, allowed them to continue without slackening the vigilance necessary in such cases. However, not to exhibit weakness, the Maharanee being actually detected in the act of conspiring against them, was exiled. Her firmness, had been a great obstacle to the completion of their object, and the obstacle was thrown down; but they were careful not to calm the turbulence of the Sikhs and the system soon bore its fruit.

In 1848, one of their chiefs, Diwan Moolraj, governor of Mooltan, preceded a revolt by the murder of two British officers, Messrs. Vans Agnew and Anderson, exicted, it is said, there to, by the native ministers of Duleep Singh, installed in power by the English. At this signal the whole of the west of the kingdom rose in arms, from Mooltan northwards to the province of the Hazarabs. Various circumstances at first authorized the supposition, and there was soon no doubt of the fact, that Gholab Singh favoured the insurrection. The Sirdar Chuttur Singh, and his son Shere Singh, after having quitted the English party, held the country against them with very considerable forces, while Moolraj kept a portion of their army in check under the walls of Mooltan, into which he had retired. On the other side, the Afghans, with Dost Mohamed at their head, appeared, to interfere and complicate the business. The English had heavy work on their hands there; at first their military operations were far from flourishing, and several checks which they received from the Sikhs warned them of the danger of their position. Fresh forces were brought up from Lahore to the points on which they were required, and General Sir H. Gough, Commander-in-chief of the British forces in India, joined them, to direct in person the military operations in the Punjab. On the 22nd of November, 1848, they came up with the one of the insurgent chiefs, the Sirdar Shere Singh, encamped with his army on

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the borders of the Chenab, near a ford known by the name of Ramnuggur; there they attacked him without any beneficial result, and the loss of the English was great, especially in officers. But this unfortunate engagement was soon followed by a brilliant victory.

On the 21st of January, 1849, General Whish, charged with the siege of Mooltan, had reduced the fort, and made Moolraj, the prime mover in the revolt, his prisoner. This advantage ought to, and would have been sufficient to bring the war to a satisfactory conclusion for the English, if nearly at the same time, a check of a very different character from that at Ramnuggur, and which caused the liveliest uneasiness as to the pacification of the Punjab, had not occurred. In an ill-fated moment, General Gough, without having made himself sufficiently acquainted with the ground, and perfected his combinations, decided on offering battle to Shere Singh in his encampment at Chillianwallah.

It was the 13th of January, 1849; the battle was bloody, and the English, charging the well-chosen position of their enemies, had the misery of seeing their best troops, three regiments of European cavalry, take flight before the Sikhs, with such precipitation, that neither death nor wounds took place in their ranks; and they rode with such impetuosity through their own guns, that they involuntarily killed and wounded many of the gunners, upset the pieces and caissons, and threw the whole park of artillery into the utmost confusion.*

This affair cost them six guns, eight flags, and 2500 men, amongst whom were 97 officers of various grades. When the news arrived in England, there was an universal cry of anathema against the unhappy general, who had so imprudently compromised the reputation of the British arms, and, in the panic which seized them, the Directors of the Company, managing the affairs from their counting-house in London, sent two officers to succeed him in the command; first, Sir William Gomm from the Mauritius, and a few days afterwards, Sir Charles Napier; but, in their anxiety, they forgot to revoke the authority of General Gough, and consequently, some time after, three Commanders-in-Chief met at Calcutta!**

*M Ferrier is mistaken; there was only one regiment of Europeans.—L.

**The appointment of the Commander-in-Chief, like that of all important functionaries in India, rests with the English Cabinet; and in this case Sir W. Gomm, who was then at the Mauritius, was first appointed. Subsequently, when the intelligence arrived of the reverse of Chillianwallah, the expression of public opinion was so strong in favour of Sir Charles Napier, as the man for the crisis, that the Government were obliged to send him out. The war, however, was concluded before he arrived. He shortly afterwards had a difference with Lord Dalhousie, threw up his command in disgust, and was succeeded by Sir William Gomm.—Ed.

The conquest of the Punjab has admirably completed the succession of invasions, and secured to her the finest empire in the world. It would perhaps be wise were she to stop here, and be content with her present power : but can she ? Does the thundering torrent arrest itself in a course where it meets with no obstacles ; or even where it does ? Such is the British torrent. Descending from the snow-clad summits of the Himalaya, it will yet submerge Nepaul, Birmah, China, and its dependencies; turning to the East, it will once more inundate Afghanistan, and overturn the citadel of Herat. Little does this vast extension of territory by the Britssh Empire appear to signify to the other European states; they seem perfectly indifferent, and the propoency that it would crumble of itself, either by the effects of revolt or bankruptcy, has been so constantly repeated that the world has finished by believing it. Well, I predict that indifference will cost you, if not your liberty—because England loves liberty and practises it—at least your political independence, and you will submit to the law that you have not dared to give to this gigantic invader. She will divide the world with the other Colossus.*

*General Ferrier appears altogether to have overlooked America in this prospective view of future history.—ED.